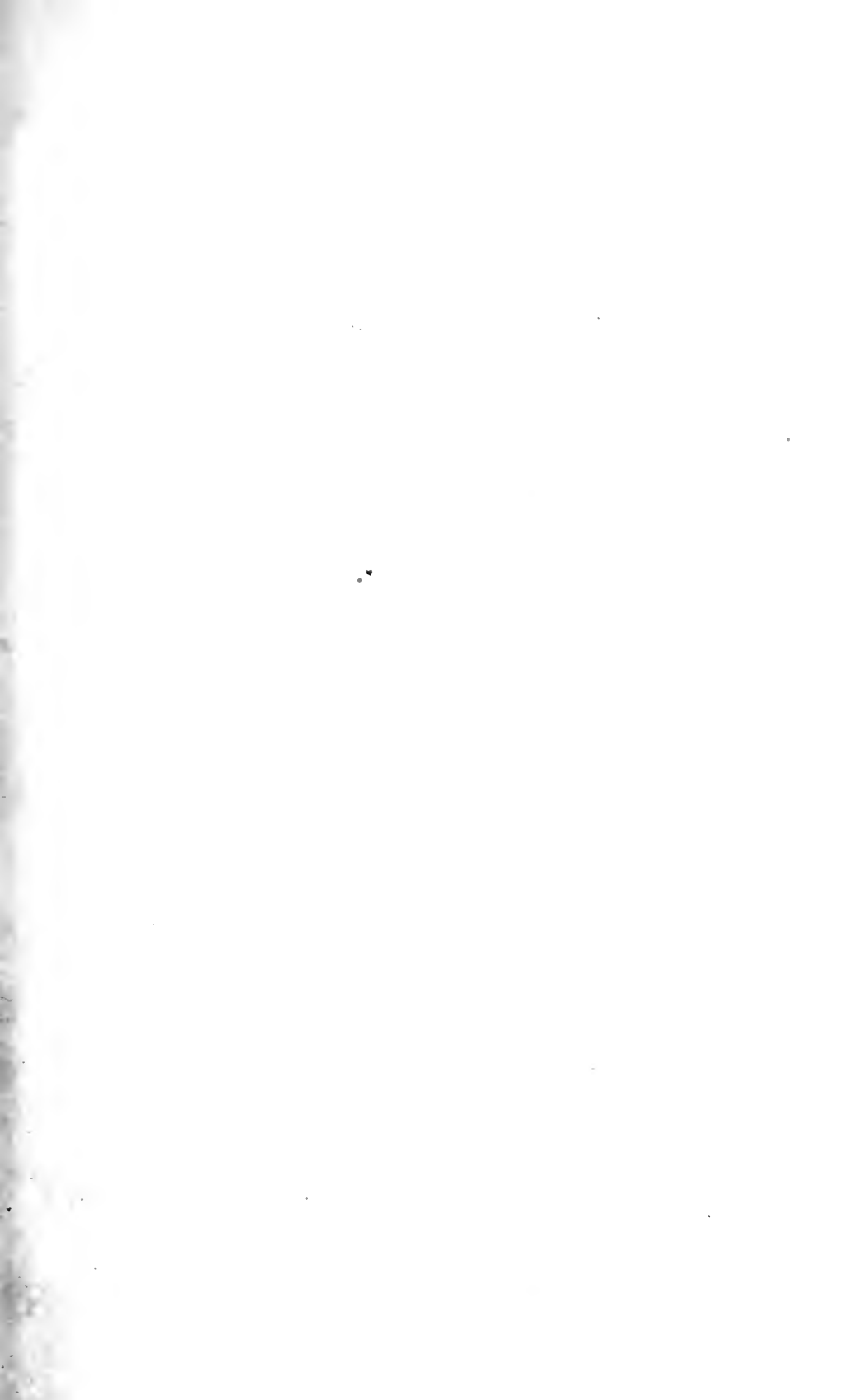




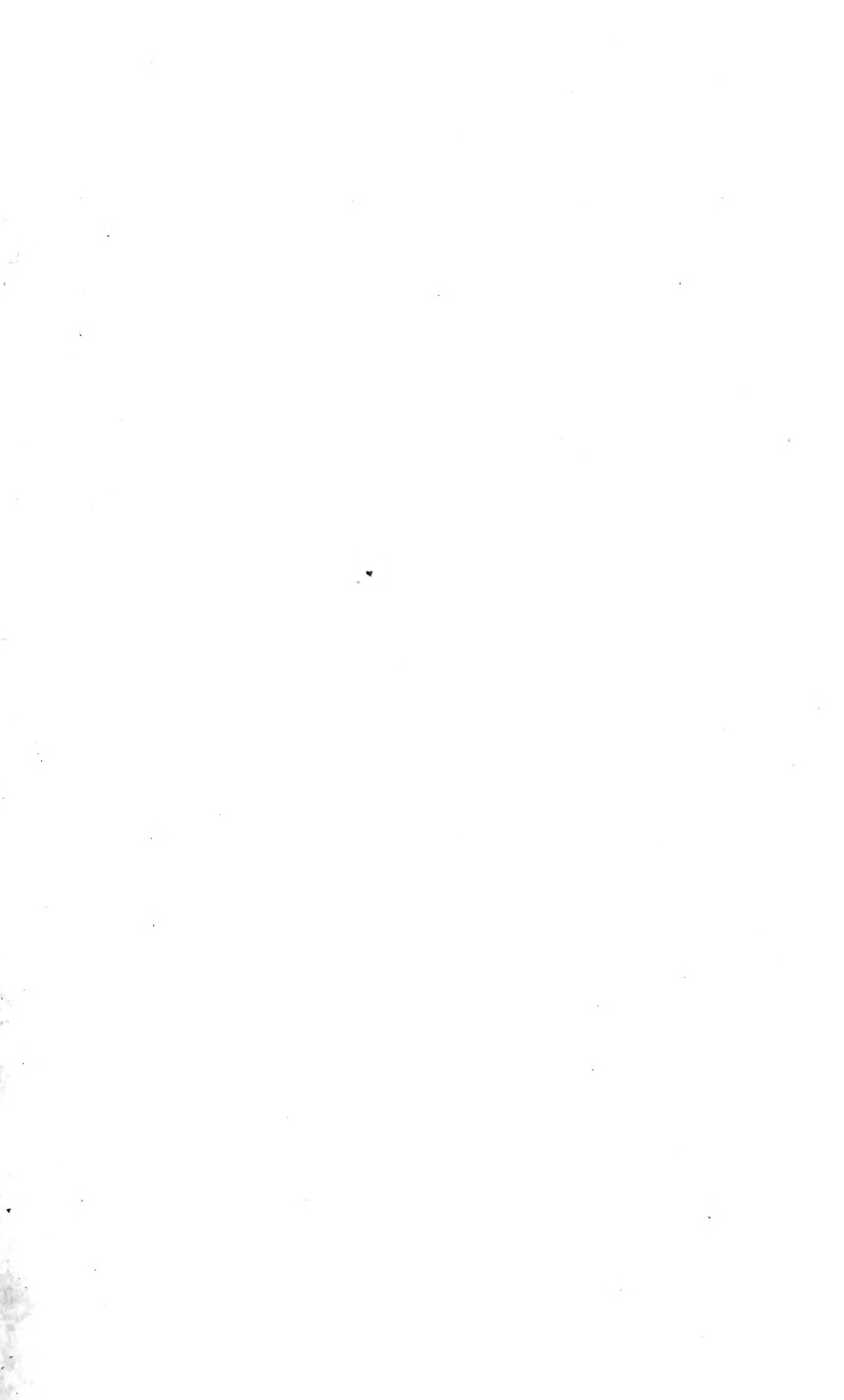
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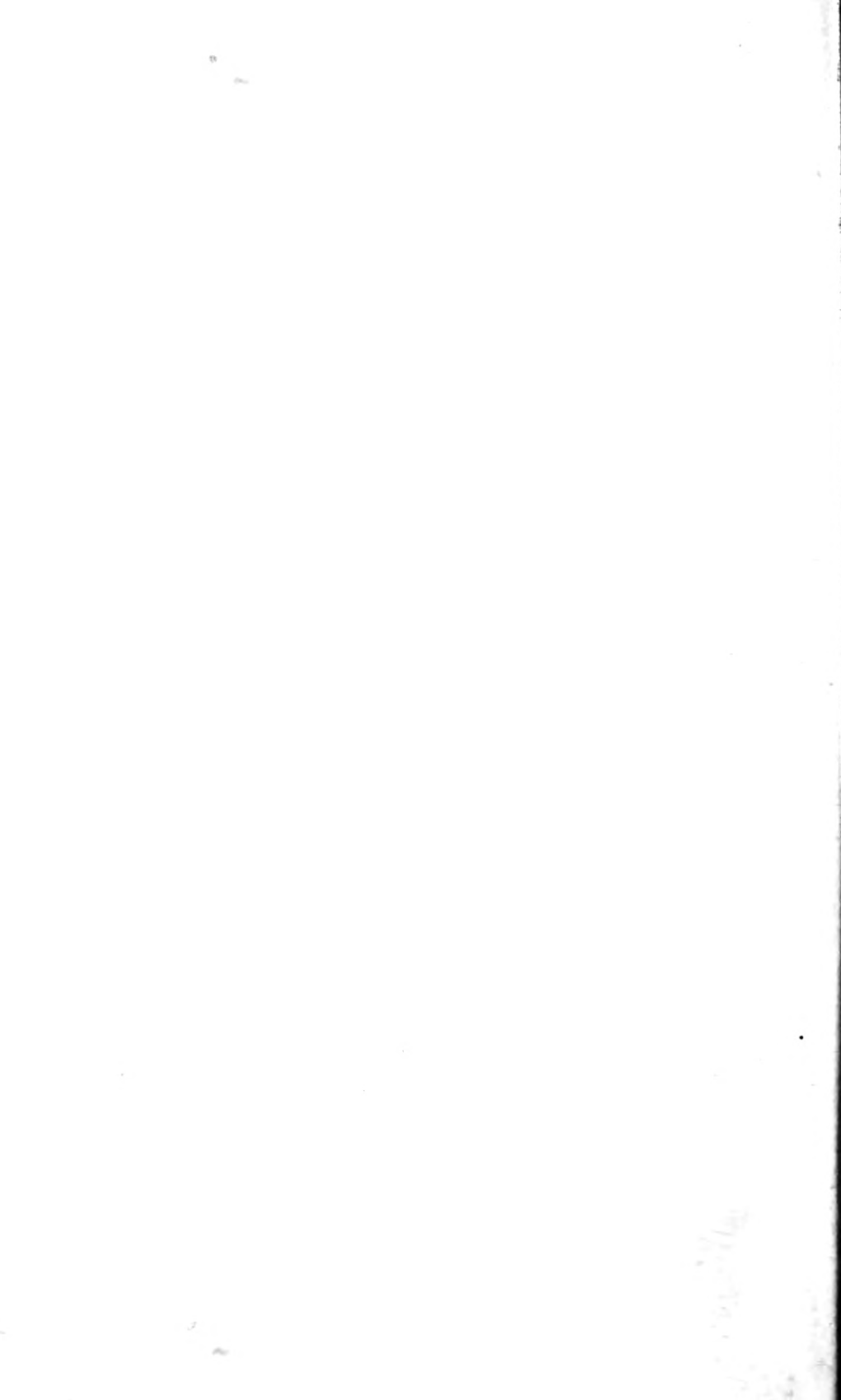




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# AT HOME IN PARIS.

BY

William

BLANCHARD JERROLD,

AUTHOR OF

"THE CHRISTIAN VAGABOND," "THE CHILDREN OF LUTETIA,"  
ETC., ETC.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

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# CONTENTS.

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|  | PAGE |
|--|------|
| THE ART OF ALMS IN FRANCE:—  |      |
| INTRODUCTION . . . . .   | 1    |
| CHAPTER I.—State Relief in France . . . .  | 26   |
| CHAPTER II.—The French Poor Laws . . . .   | 37   |
| CHAPTER III.—Offices of Benevolence . . . .  | 64   |
| CHAPTER IV.—The Sick Poor System . . . .   | 90   |
| CHAPTER V.—Out-door Sick Relief . . . . .  | 98   |
| CHAPTER VI.—Hospital Admissions and Dis-<br>missals . . . . .                      | 117  |
| CHAPTER VII.—The Central Hospital, Asylum,<br>and Out-door Relief Stores . . . . . | 129  |
| CHAPTER VIII.—The House of Help, and Hos-<br>pital Beds for the Poor . . . . .     | 137  |
| CHAPTER IX.—The Central Store of the Poor . .                                      | 151  |
| CHAPTER X.—Beggars and Vagrants . . . .  | 160  |
| CHAPTER XI.—The St. Denis Dépôt . . . . .  | 173  |

THE ART OF ALMS IN FRANCE—*cont.*

|  | PAGE |
|--|------|
| CHAPTER XII.—English and French Vagrants . . .   | 185  |
| CHAPTER XIII.—The Beggar's Château . . .   | 198  |
| CHAPTER XIV.—The Mad World . . .   | 210  |
| APPENDIX I. . . . .  | 237  |
| I.—Admission to Relief . . . . .   | 241  |
| II.—Form of Relief . . . . .   | 244  |
| APPENDIX II.—The Regulations under which Out-door<br>Relief is administered in the City of Paris . . . | 261  |

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# AT HOME IN PARIS.

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## THE ART OF ALMS IN FRANCE.

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### INTRODUCTION.

AN inquiry into the European systems of poor relief; and into the constitution, efficacy, and present condition of the charities and popular provident institutions of the Continent and of America, suggested itself to me on the completion of some studies of the London poor, the poor of Paris, and the food-markets of Normandy and Brittany, which occupied me between 1862 and 1866. In the course of these labours I came necessarily, into contact with so many admirable relief plans and private institutions in France, the like of which do not exist in England; that I was gradually led to form the design of strengthening the ground of poor-law reform at home by forming something approaching a methodical statement of the principles and practices of France, Holland, Belgium, Prussia, Italy, Denmark, Sweden, and

Russia, in relation to their poor, and, lastly, of the United States.

My plan met at once the cordial approval of many public men, and of politicians of all shades of opinion. Mr. Gladstone was pleased to acknowledge the great possible utility of such a labour as I proposed. Mr. Goschen gave it his support, and Lord Clarendon at once furnished me with letters to Her Majesty's representatives at the various Continental Courts. The actual predicament of our working poor, which only too forcibly showed the need for radical and immediate reforms, prompted me to enter at once upon my task; and to lay my purpose before all who might be willing to help in this long journey through the poverty which remains a plague spot upon our civilization.

I desired to lay before the legislators and social reformers of my time a history and chronicle of the Art of Alms, and to close my labours with an exhaustive treatise on the subject.

A full description of the provident institutions of the working classes of Europe was embraced in my plan. Among the subscribers who substantially promoted my labours were Mr. Goschen, Mr. Samuel Morley, Mr. Rathbone, the member for Liverpool, Mr. W. H. Smith, member for Westminster, Sir David Solomons, and Mr. M'Cullagh Torrens, Sir William Fraser, and Mr. Erasmus Wilson, &c. I received very much correspondence



as to the form in which my inquiry should be put forth, and as to the methods by which its heavy cost should be met. An eminent writer and earnest student of social questions, who was long associated most intimately with the laborious life of Charles Dickens, says :—"Your object is so thoroughly national that I think the nation ought to reward you somehow for your labour, and give itself the benefit of your work through the Government, by publishing it in some official but accessible form, as they do those capital diplomatic reports of foreign nations. Yours must be the diagnosis of a disease that must be taken by the throat without delay. The principles, of course, apply to all countries, and your survey of pauperism being European, can only be effectual. You have been doing for the poor what Le Play did for labour, only you have been doubtless less imaginative, and more correct ; and your work, when it is finished, will not take half a life-time to read."

But an official form is impossible in our country for such a work as this. It is the policy of our leading men, both Liberal and Conservative, to avoid such a laying bare of social sores as that on which I was bent. We find them rather eager to accept general statements which cover and hide the truth in regard to the working poor. The inquirer who has explored the vast regions of poverty is met again and again with the state-

ment that the revenue is increasing. Lord Overstone demonstrates so triumphantly that the national income is growing with astonishing rapidity, and the logic of his statement appears so irresistible to his hearers, that a death by starvation looks like a strong piece of party malevolence brought about to discredit the dicta of the rich. I am quite sure there are comfortable, well-to-do people who have been brought to the opinion that there are perverse classes in the community who have a positive taste for privation, who enjoy a shiver in the wintry streets, are voluntarily out-at-elbows, and all to confound and shame their betters. The dirt, hunger, disease, and vice of the East End is assumed to be a Radical demonstration, kept up for the purposes of party warfare. The beggar's staff is a Liberal truncheon. Rags are standards under which all the privileges of the rich are to fall. It is in vain a few independent, earnest men, putting party politics out of the question, address themselves to the remedial treatment of our pauperism, and cry aloud that it is a scandal and a disgrace in a land so charged with wealth. Party politicians remain, if not wholly indifferent, at any rate wholly inactive. There may be tears in their eyes; but their arms are composedly crossed in perfect repose upon their breasts, while the hosts of Lazarus sweep by.

What hope, then, to find substantial official

support for an inquiry that was to lie, all through, in the midst of poverty? And yet such a work could not be undertaken with the reasonable hope that it would pay the heavy expenses incidental to, and inseparable from, it! There was no alternative left than that which I reluctantly adopted, and by which I was enabled to accomplish an important part, and hoped to complete the whole of my diagnosis. My contributions to the *Lancet* on the manner in which the sick poor of Paris are administered; my letters to the *Examiner* on the modern treatment of the insane poor; my articles addressed to the *Morning Star*, on the beggars of France, are a few *dissecta membra* of the great subject.

My inquiries were to embrace private and independent charities, because these are, at least in England, as important as the State help given to poverty. I have already had occasion to observe elsewhere\* that the poor are improvident in all countries, but most improvident, so far as my experience reaches, in England. In bed and board, in daily habits and methods of distributing their money to supply the absolute necessities of human nature, in their pleasures as well as in their business, they cannot look beyond the hour, nor get the steady, intelligent force to break through the trammels of trade which prevent them from obtain-

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\* *The Children of Lutetia.*

ing their just money's worth. These are melancholy facts, but they are not peculiar to the poor. Abroad we are regarded as a wasteful race. The improvidence which gives a sharper pang to the poor man's life is caught from the grades above him, reaching to those in which are his governors—framers of the law that is meant to meet his poverty, to assuage and dispel it.

There is a poverty in England which is peculiar, in its extent and ramifications, to the country. It has not its parallel in any continental community. It is the shabby gentility that starves and shrinks from the public eye. The pinch of hunger under faded silks and satins is sharpest. The stealthy gentility that creeps hither and thither for work in the twilight hours, that none may know how the family that had its routs and drums is reduced to common industry, is represented by troops of skeletons in society. When the needle that has been accustomed to add a crimson to the quaint macaw is vulgarised by the stitching of shirts for shillings, the eyes that direct it are scalded with bitter tears. These *pauvres honteux* are a most terribly numerous race in our social body. The young men crowd to the city to become clerks, and legions of them fall lower and still lower in the labour market, to fill all the dismal positions which belong to unclassed men. The women become sempstresses, nursery-governesses, or have “larger houses than they

require," one of the thousand falsehoods with which shamefaced poverty veils itself. Briefly, there is a middle class of educated want in England, which is not to be matched for extent or depth of suffering in any other community. The reason why the *pauvres honteux* of England resort to every kind of shame and subterfuge in order to hide their lack of money, is simply because in England money is more devoutly worshipped than it is in any other country. One reason why they exist in immense force is because the middle-class is improvident like the working-class; and heads of families who have maintained their children in luxurious comfort leave them hardly provided with bread for the morrow. It is not so among our neighbours. The character of our private charities, when put in comparison with that of French or Belgian charities, or with the charities of Holland, discloses at once the canker that is in the heart of our body social. The *pauvres honteux* of England are the mass of poor who never reach the parish, of whom the law takes no account, but who are cared for, in a shiftless way, by independent charitable organizations. The *pauvres honteux* of France are methodically watched over in observance of a wise economy that spends a shilling to-day to save a twenty-shilling loss next year.

But, again, the provident institutions of the working classes have a direct relation to the

poverty of a community, and must be considered in an estimate of the social science practised in a state ; so that a study of these is inseparable from a complete view of the causes of poverty, and a thorough understanding of the palliatives and the remedies.

At the outset of my inquiry into the working of the systems of Poor Relief, and into the constitution, efficacy, and actual condition of the local and private charities of the great cities of Europe, I was anxious to impress this fact on those who may follow me, viz. that I set forth free from a fixed theory of my own. I was in quest of an experience that should enable me, by journeying among the poor, at an end, to make a notable contribution to the Art of Alms ; or, at least, to furnish others, with materials in aid of improvements in the manner of treating poverty, and the art of checking it.

At the present time there is no subject of general importance on which opinion vacillates so frequently, as the treatment of the poor. The speeches which have been made of late in England, and the activities of the Charity Organization Society, discovered a confused condition of mind in the relation of the pauper to the State that is alone enough to condemn the English Poor Laws, and the manner of their administration. A speaker would lessen the measure of relief. A ratepayer

would add a few supplementary discomforts to the workhouse. A guardian turns an angry eye upon the long private subscription lists. An observer is not quite sure that the best poor law would not be no poor law, seeing that the English system of relief breeds the very evil which it was created to meet. The development of tramping through the length and breadth of the land, is instanced as irrefutable evidence that Government manages a series of gratuitous hotels for ragged travellers, who never trouble themselves, in their vagabondage from the cradle to the grave, with a single day's honest work. While a "Constant Reader" is complaining that the Poor Law was conceived in a mood of exaggerated sentiment, and that the way through the gates of the House should be made a trifle gloomier; two or three people are reported to have preferred death by starvation, upon bare boards, to the comforts of the hotel of the poor. An aged casual drops down dead in the stone-yard. The *Lancet* institutes a humane scientific inquiry, and the public are informed that the English sick poor are treated, in some places, with a brutality from which the meanest creature (not being human) is protected by a special philanthropic society. I am encompassed with mountainous piles of books and pamphlets treating of defects in the Poor Laws; suggesting remedies; exposing abuses; and tendering advice to the poor with the confident

recommendation that it is an easy road out of rags to competence. The gravity of the evils which remain to be overcome, both in the State and private methods of extending charity, is perhaps most forcibly shown by the agitation which was found necessary (and which culminated in the Metropolitan Poor Act of 1867), in order to move the authorities to the consideration of the manner in which the sick poor generally were being treated in London workhouses. An Association for the Improvement of London Workhouses (where is it now?) was hastily formed, and Mr. Ernest Hart moved three resolutions, the substance of which are embodied in the Act of 1867, known as Mr. Gathorne Hardy's Act. This Act is, as Mr. W. Cunningham Glen observes in his preface,\* an "almost entire subversion of the system of poor relief which, since the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, has been in operation in the metropolis." And yet the new Act was denounced, as early as February 1869, as a monstrous enactment, destructive of the home graces, costly, un-English, and cruel; and when known, in all its details, to the sick and infirm poor, calculated to raise a storm of indignation among classes who are already not

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\* "The Metropolitan Poor Act (1867), with Notes and Appendix of Incorporated Statutes." By W. Cunningham Glen, Esq., barrister-at-law. Shaw and Sons.



over well affected to the ruling caste of the Empire. It is described as a clumsy imitation of the *Assistance Publique*, of France, adopted with singular perversity at the very moment when the French are promoting the out-door relief of the sick poor and the infirm. I merely dwell on the controversies the Act of 1867 has engendered, and the bad blood the first activities of the officers made under it have created, in order to show how, in England, the public mind wavers—snatching hither and thither at remedies—without any guiding principles on the treatment of poverty by a great community. The parochial mind—of stubborn stuff generally—confronts the reformer. The proposal to equalize the poor rates is a bugbear which has the effect of red cloth shaken under the nose of a bull—upon many powerful citizens. There are the stalwart champions of hard treatment who regard the ragged man as a fellow whose tatters are *prima facie* evidence against his character; and there are the tender-hearted who would pamper the children of Lazarus. The tramp knows, or knew, the hard and the soft beds of the British unions, and will often travel many miles out of his way to the ward where decency and comfort are ungrudgingly arranged. “Exactly,” the hard guardian observes, delighted that the point has been given to him; “and this is the way pauperism is fostered.” There being one law of the land, and there being inspectors appointed

under that law, with commissioners over them, and a president guiding all, people have been wanting to know how a *Lancet* Commission could possibly be required to expose the various horrors of workhouse infirmaries. The answer is "circumlocution" and "red tape." A more incongruous, unequal, contradictory set of establishments, all governed by one law, from one central administration, than the Unions of the United Kingdom is not to be seen in the world. While that which strikes the examiner of the institutions lately under the government of Monsieur Armand Husson\* in Paris is the evenness of the administration and the perfect regularity of the machinery, whether surprised in an outlying *Maison de Secours* or taken à l'improviste in a *Bureau de Bienfaisance*, of a poor arrondissement; the remarkable character of British establishments under the Poor Law Board is the infinite varieties of management and conditions of government, ranging from that of the West Derby Union to the Bethnal Green Infirmary, as Mr. Hart and Dr. Anstie found it. A round of abuse follows a round of wrong. The President is to blame, the Commissioners are fine gentle-

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\* The treatment with which M. Husson met at the hands of M. Thiers' Government, after a life devoted to the perfection of the system of the Assistance Publique must create indignation in every just mind.

men, the inspectors are all of the type described by the *Lancet* commissioners on their Bethnal Green visit; and the parochial authorities are "those representatives of degenerated humanity, the vestries," and these vestrymen get nothing for their trouble, scuttle through the unpaid business, and sign "the blanks below the printed questions in the Poor Law Board's book." Where the inspector is vigilant, the guardians are obstinate. A report is filtered through departments, until nothing of the least importance is left of it. When a reformer suggests that the chaos comes of divided command, he is denounced as the advocate of centralization, and consequently a plotter against all local liberties and government. The confusion is unmistakeable: but there are those who say it is a cheap price to pay for the glory and privilege of having a parliament in every parish.

The perplexity of the public mind in England on all that concerns the treatment of the poor; the cultivation of provident habits among the industrious classes; the shiftings of the labour market; and the duties of the State to the destitute young—were my justification of my plan. We have only to bring the British Poor Laws, and the simple laws according to which the French poor are treated, in conjunction, to become alive to the desirability of fortifying ourselves with the experience of our

neighbours, and other continental communities. The principle on which the State treats the young in France is more provident and kind than that on which we proceed—if principle we can be said to have at all.

Having briefly indicated some of the reasons which moved me to my laborious task, I will set forth the divisions and subdivisions in which I had placed my information.

### *State Relief.*

1. The methods of administration.
2. The means adopted to provide the funds.
3. The effect of the relief in increasing or diminishing pauperism.

### *Private Relief, or Charity.*

1. Charities for the relief of moral or spiritual destitution.
2. Charities for the relief of physical distress; for the provision of health, food, clothes, and shelter.
3. Charities for complete relief of the completely destitute.
4. Charities for the aged and infirm.
5. Charities for the young.
6. Charities for the sick poor.
7. Charities for the promotion of self-help, as loan societies, &c.

Separately, I proposed to describe

*The Provident Institutions of the Continental  
Working Classes.*

The examination of these institutions is of the first importance in such a scheme as this ; because it is from defective labour markets, and ill-regulated workmen that the ranks of the poor are recruited. Every society or plan that tends to inculcate self-help, to foster education, to drive labour from choked markets to profitable markets helps to thin the ranks of pauperism. Where working men are taught to assist themselves, and at the same time to put a high value on culture and independence, as at Mulhouse (the industrial institutions of which are a profitable study in themselves), the numbers of the poor are very small indeed, while in other places, as Troyes, out of a population of 9,123 souls, 4,531 are recipients of relief. There are corrective societies at Troyes as well as at Mulhouse ; where, then, is the radical difference in the predicament of the Mulhouse labourer, and that of the worker at Troyes, or Saint-Quentin, or Limoges ? This, surely, is an interesting question—more interesting even than the *Assistance* code, since it touches the root of the evil, since it approaches the prevention of the necessity for State charity.

Wherever the working classes are instructed, they are comparatively free from want. Wherever they have had disciplined penetration enough to adapt new principles to their condition, and to profit by the spread of new ideas, they have prospered. In every part of Europe the example of the Rochdale Pioneers is laid before workmen, and handy books are in the packs of the pedlars, showing how this principle of co-operation "which can be carried out only by sober, well-conducted men," is that which is to bear plenty, and peace, and knowledge to the worker's hearth. The seed has been cast wide. Associated workmen are to be found in every corner of Europe, building pianos at Hamburg, tailoring in Dresden, comb-making at Nuremberg, and constructing machinery at Chemnitz. Still the vexed question of the big and little workshop seems as far as ever from settlement in Paris. In the main industrial centres, where immense establishments mass legions of mechanics, industrial decentralization is the remedy to many; hence the invention of M. Ferdinand Hirn, of Logelbach, near Colmar, whereby, it was announced, motive power might be carried, without appreciable loss, to considerable distances, was hailed as the beginning of a trade revolution. Power has been hitherto localized—henceforth we were told it was to be mobilized, and the workman was again to be able to earn his bread at home!

The industrial mind is vigilant in the direction of such economies as shall promote the material and, through the material, the moral well-being of the millions who live by manual labour. Every indication of this vigilance and of its effects, must be pertinent to an inquiry into the existing methods of treating the working poor. What are the influences which tend to the spread of pauperism, and to the growth of it? What efforts are enlightened men making in France and Germany and Switzerland to plug the source, and solve that elementary problem of national happiness, the safe provision of food and shelter to every member of the community through the work of his own hands?

“The highway to the hospital” is an old, old piece which hawkers carried on the Continent many years ago, jumbled with the worst garbage. The warnings are mostly moral; and have not yet become needless. The *Bonhomme Misère* still dwells in rags near his pear-tree as he figured in the legend, which was current in French and Italian villages centuries ago.

The report of M. Alfred Le Roux, on the new order of rewards instituted by the French Government, in favour of institutions or localities, in which harmony between employer and employed, and the moral, intellectual, and physical well-being of the wage-class, have been promoted, opens a vast, fresh field. The idea was propounded in 1866, in view

of the Exhibition of 1867 ; was ridiculed, slighted, and neglected ; and finally ended in a record of the efforts which have been made in the world, by enlightened and philanthropic men, towards a general condition of social harmony. England was churlish and would not compete ; Alsace abstained. But, albeit no superior benefactor of his species wore the laurel, something was gained by the generous initiative of the Imperial Government. The world is put in possession of a record of the broad spheres of activity which human benevolence and enlightenment have covered.

Many wants have created many forms of benevolent action. First on the list, are the plans which have been concocted to discourage improvidence and to prevent pauperism, for these are, beyond all question, the most important. Their success would make the rest unnecessary. Follow—the plans for lessening drunkenness, immorality, and that dismal item in the continental workman's weekly time—his idle, and at the same time costly Monday. From these, the report passes successively to educational and moral means contrived for the workman's good, and to the agencies by which capital and labour have been welded into a common, harmonious interest. The regulated participation of labour with capital, in the profits created by their joint action, has been most steadily pursued in France, and was originated there twenty-seven



years ago.\* The efforts made by employers of labour to give their employed decent and healthy houses ; to build model workshops ; the economic combinations by which the wage earner is enabled to buy his house or lodging, and assure the comfort of his old age ; and in short, the methods set in motion, or proposed, to get a common accord among various races of workmen, on bases that shall assure the advance *en masse* of Labour to independence, are the highest movements with which M. Alfred Le Roux had to deal. His report is patchwork, with many holes—not to his discredit. He digested all the food he received. For the gaps our modest, or culpably and stupidly indolent, authorities are to blame. The British Exhibition administrators treated the tenth group of the Exhibition of 1867 with superb disdain ; for it suggested merely a study of the vital problems of our modern society, under exceptionally and extraordinarily favourable circumstances.

The corner-stone of the future perfect social edifice must be the well-regulated home. To this conclusion the review of the modern industrial institutions of Europe tends, and in this M. le Roux's official labour corroborates the experiences

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\* The participation of the workmen in the profits of their employers was originated in France, by M. Leclaire, a Paris builder, under the Government of July.

of the French Poor-law Reformers and the conclusions of M. Jules Simon and kindred writers. Such examples as those of the directors of the Vieille Montagne Works, of Belgium, which support 20,000 individuals; of the governors of the Bleyberg Mines; of M. Visschers, who has taken the young working population in hand, and made the Belgian boy and girl saving in habit, by conducting a mutual assurance society, which in 1865 embraced 86,000 members in one provident, prosperous family, with accumulated savings amounting to £160,000; and of the Belgian Government, that has stepped forward to prevent the miseries of a transition period from hand-manufacture to machine-manufacture—should not escape close study. Have we in England an association as venerable and steadfast and practical as the Dutch Public Good Society, which has been in operation since 1784? Copenhagen boasts such a loan society, adapted to the requirements of workmen, as England has not yet managed to raise, albeit there is not a bad model as close at home as Paris. There are model workmen's homes in Christiania; and in the Gulf of Bothnia will be found a band of between four and five thousand workmen, mining and felling timber happily, under the most intelligent and liberal arrangements for their just payment and their general comfort. What lessons has not M. Sjokrona, of Sweden, to teach those who are not

yet alive to the positive pocket profit of keeping the virtues busy among the sons of toil? He has so wholly triumphed over the Swede's bottle proclivities that his temperance society has been dissolved in his community as no longer requisite. Where there are no drunkards you may melt down the temperance medals. The *artels* of the Russians are temporary labour associations, and so full of suggestive points. M. Gustave Moynier's note addressed to the Imperial Commission in 1867 in the name of Switzerland is of the deepest importance, as showing the possibility of making a national harmony among the philanthropists and moral and material theorists of a race. Switzerland appeared before the Commission as one thoughtful, provident, harmonious society. She offered her example, and declined a reward. Here was a spectacle that makes the industrial conditions of the "great powers" look very ugly. Italy had a few remarkable associations to show, as her Milan savings bank and the establishment of MM. Larderelet in Tuscany. Spain put forward the *fueros* of Catalonia and the Basque provinces—a curious remnant of the Middle Ages, not without instruction in this time. Portugal had noteworthy "professional associations." In every part of Germany the social doctor will find food.

It is affecting to remark in the presence of the immense sum of intellect, heart, and industry which

man has spent in order to make his labours suffice always for his food and shelter, how far he remains from the goal, and how many crop up without a crust, in the best regulated communities. The hopeful part of the view is his valiant figure, tough at the task, although tears bead his sorrowful eyes.

My aim in the great inquiry of which I have been enabled to give the public only *disjecta membra* (and which, for lack of co-operation, I have been at length compelled to abandon), was to get something like method and harmony into the philanthropy of the age ; and, with this, I believe, worthy end before me, I sought examples, warnings, and experiments far and wide. Other countries are rich in a literature of charity. France supports many publications of authority devoted to the cause of public and private philanthropy. The *Revue de l'Économie Chrétienne* includes a mass of philosophical and descriptive writing on its subject of extraordinary value. Eminent Christian economists have written the story of their life of self-sacrifice and tentative efforts in aid of their poor fellow-creatures. The educated men connected with the Assistance Publique of France, who have thought in relation to their official functions, are an honour to their country. Louis Grot, an administrator of the civil asylums of Beaune, writes on "The Respect due to Charitable Institutions" ; M. Audiganne, who was officially brought into connection with his

favourite subject, describes the working classes of France; Frédéric Tauber gathers the charitable institutions of Grenoble into one view, and then endeavours to draw useful morals and arguments from the scene. The author of the "Dictionnaire d'Économie Charitable," M. Martin-Doisy, was Inspector-General of Charities. Such thinkers over their work have no emulators in England. With all our charity, we cannot show the active thinking over the methods of charity which is comprehended in the debates of the Société d'Économie Charitable. Have our State or private benevolences produced an administrator or writer of the calibre of M. E. Ducpetiaux, late Inspector-General of the Prisons and Relief Establishments of Belgium? His "Economic Budgets of the Belgian Working Classes" are well known on the Continent. The system of the popular banks of Germany and the credit unions of Belgium has been thoroughly discussed in France, and Holland, and Switzerland. M. Dameth, professor of the Geneva Academy, introduced it to his countrymen years ago; while we remain uninformed on the important subject, and are told, year after year, that one of the depressing influences which weigh the British workman to the earth is the popular loan system—the pawnbroking and the public-house lending parlour. The Paris Society for giving Credit to Labour, established by the Empress Eugénie, is passed over, albeit it is a

shining example of the immense good which may be done by people who will give only a little money but a great quantity of trouble.

But I might fill pages with a bald catalogue of the learned societies, treatises, histories, and critical reports which have emanated during the last twenty years from the administrators of State and private charity on the Continent. Of course, the contrast between continental administrators of the poor and those of England takes its rise in this fact, that whereas the Frenchman or Belgian is chosen because his sympathies, aptitudes, and knowledge fit him for the vocation, the Englishman reaches his post through the favour of powerful friends, his power and training being left completely out of the question.

The present volume includes my history of the sick poor administration of Paris, in which outdoor relief and hospital relief are seen commingled as they should be in England; \* an outline of the French Assistance Publique (which is more fully developed in "The Children of Lutetia" †); some chapters on the Beggars of France and the Dépôts of Mendicity; and some notes on the treatment of the pauper insane in France and Belgium. These fragments may serve as proof that the original

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\* See "Contrasts." Strahan and Co.

† Sampson Low, Son, and Co.

design, of which they are but patches, was worthy of the State encouragement I sought for it, and which, for a few weeks, I was led to hope would be extended to it.

Perhaps the help which a Liberal Government refused to me for an inquiry into the European systems of Poor Relief, and the constitution, efficacy, and present condition and effects of the charities of the Continent, may be afforded by another Government to another writer who shall have seen the value of my plan, and have resolved to carry it out.

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## CHAPTER I.

## STATE RELIEF IN FRANCE.

I OPEN my description of the Assistance Publique of Paris with the tender of my cordial thanks to Lord Lyons, who has facilitated my passage through the mendicity depôts and other places difficult of access ; and to M. Armand Husson, Director-General of the Poor Relief, whose courtesy I am bound for the second time to acknowledge.

On the last Sunday of the Carnival of 1869, about seven o'clock in the morning, a lively company of about twelve students and grisettes in masks, were returning from the Châtelet ball to the *quartier latin*, enlivening the homeward journey with gambols, carnival-fashion. In the *Carrefour Buci* they came across a poor woman, carrying a sick child, and apparently plunged in the deepest grief. One of the grisettes (in the costume of the *rosière de Nanterre*) at once drew her companions together, snatched a hat from the head of a *pierrot*, and presented it to the group. Silver pieces were poured



into the carnival hat so suddenly turned into a subscription bag. Having gone the round, the grisette drew a lace handkerchief from her pocket, folded the money in it, and offered it to the distressed mother who burst into a flood of tears. But this was not all. One of the men, topped with a prodigious feather, snatched the handkerchief back. There was a general cry of indignation. But the thief was not disconcerted. He unfolded the money, drew a bank note for a hundred francs from his pocket, in which he re-folded the collection, and handed it back to the unfortunate mother. To conclude, he gathered the handkerchief in his breast as a remembrance of the sweet-minded grisette who originated this charming episode of the Carnival of 1869.

I take this incident as fairly indicative of the manner in which French people of all degrees approach the poor indeed; the general spirit of kindness is marked in the public regulation which permits the poor to make a harvest while their fellow-countrymen are rejoicing, and to issue forth upon the highways on festival days to challenge the compassion of the fortunate who are merrymaking. The money pours into the blind man's bag. Gay ladies extravagantly decked add a grace to their toilette by the *abandon* with which they accost the beggar woman, and pat her babe. People give, not by stealth, sadly and coldly, as in London Streets,

but warmly and expansively, with words that double the obolus. Such sights as London and Liverpool present to the open day would wring the heart of the French. The aspect of the open space around St. George's Hall, Liverpool, when a fair sun has drawn forth the denuded offspring of the purlieus, can have no parallel in France. You may mark traces of every race, to the Chinese, in the hungry faces of the juvenile crowd. Beggary is here, imported from every clime, and left to increase. No man can doubt the end of this : it would terrify the apprehensive, speculative, and sensitive mind of a Frenchman ; it passes under the eyes of an Englishman as a sorrow, a sight for pity, but he takes no heed of the morrow which it promises. Races of beggars there are in France, families whose names have figured on the books of a *Bureau de Bienfaisance* for generations ; but some chance is given to the child, and a rising generation of tramps and vagabonds is not left unheeded, to ripen into future clients of the *Assistance Publique*. The spectacle of legions of ragged urchins, left to the gutter until ripe for the gaol, is one which is managed in England better than any other country. In France, if the parents are sent to the hospital, or condemned to the galleys, the children are not left in the streets. The law proceeds very much in the spirit of little Manteau Bleu who fed thieves that they might not become murderers. Edmé Champion

is a name to which the Parisian heart warms readily. The Montyon rewards for virtue will move the mocking lip ; but the Frenchman never laughs at kindness, or kindly sentiments. He will give a welcome to wit in which chastity and decency are the sacrifice ; but he reveres the child, and the old man, and the character of the mother. The mother and the child struck a chord at once in the hearts of the masqueraders.

In the spirit and organization of the Assistance Publique of France there is a kindness, and, at the same time, an order and deep reason, which should recommend a study of the subject to all Englishmen whose duties relate in any way to the treatment of the poor, or the social elements which generate pauperism. The fact which presses upon the mind and fixes itself there is, that people of high social position in their arrondissement are honoured when they are appointed to form part of the council (presided over by the Mayor or his deputy) which governs the local Assistance, and holds the poor within its area under its paternal eye. The gratuitous duty of serving the poor, of visiting them in their homes, of advising them, and watching that the paid Assistance officers do their duty by them, is generously and conscientiously performed by ladies and gentlemen. Indeed, who accepts the trust—surely a holy one!—is bound to give account of his or her performances under it. The

willing service which is afforded by people of education to the poor in France, both under State control and under private organizations, is an essential part of the two systems; and M. Husson's widely-branching administration would be clogged in every department, and leave misery to grow and deepen, and burst into the streets, if he were left suddenly alone with his salaried employés.

But we have to look, not only at the machinery, but also at the material on which it is employed. The character of the French poor must be studied. We must observe that these poor are cast into two separate categories. There are the poor who are openly inscribed on the books of the bureau, and there are the shrinking poor—the *pauvres honteux*. The importance of maintaining this broad difference is obvious. The shamefaced poor are those who have been unfortunate, and, with timely help, will retrieve an independent position in society. Their scruples are surely worthy of respect, and are certainly valuable to the community as tending to check the increase of professional pauperism. By extending succour to the *pauvre honteux* many families are snatched from the lists of hereditary pensioners on the bounty of the State.

It is, however, in their treatment of the sick poor, and the young poor, that the French show a tender humanity and far-seeing economy. I have elsewhere remarked that that which is specially

kindly in the treatment of the indigent and sick poor of Paris, comes to them from centuries ago; the harsher lines are drawn by modern hands. When some eight years ago, the Poor Law authorities of Paris, deputed some scientific commissioners to report to them on the hospitals and workhouse-infirmaries of London, the first characteristic of our relief which excited their attention and surprise was, that all our London hospitals and dispensaries were privately supported and separately governed. Their orderly French minds were perplexed by the series of independent conflicting plans and regulations, of so many isolated, irresponsible, private bodies. They were astonished, as astonished they might well be, to see establishments so vast in their proportions, and so important in their relation to the indigent population, left completely beyond the control of the Poor Law Board. Seeing the directness with which the hospital and the poor-house—the *Hôpital* and the *Hospice*—the dispensary and the out-door relief, the *Maison de Secours* and the *Bureau de Bienfaisance*, the hospital for poor and orphan children, the *crèches*, and the infant or primary school—act and re-act upon each other; that the proper and thorough care for the sick in the hospital thins the wards of the poor-house: they were naturally astonished to find, that in London so little remedial effect was produced upon the ranks of pauperism with the enormous machinery

kept in operation by the State, and by private benevolence, to deal with it.

Private benevolence is the corner-stone of the hospitals of Paris, as it is that of the London hospitals ; but in Paris, private benevolence comes also to the help of the State or municipal body entrusted with the relief of the poor. The hospitals of Paris despoiled in many instances of their private and separate property, have been drawn into the keeping of the State, or rather within the government of the Assistance Publique in the Avenue Victoria. The property possessed by Paris hospitals is now equal to only three-twentieths of their expenditure ; the seventeen-twentieths being derived from the municipal purse. The consequence of this arrangement is that the Poor Law administrators of Paris have at their disposal, for the relief of the indigent sick, the entire hospital force and machinery of the capital, and that the working-classes are effectually assisted at that most critical epoch in the workman's home, viz. when the bread-winner is laid upon his back. Charitable people in Paris take medical care of the sick poor for granted ; and their charity is consequently directed to the aged and infirm, the desolate young, the workless, the disabled. I should recommend those reformers who are anxious to get at a right understanding of the different effects produced on the public mind by the French Assistance Publique

system, and the English Poor Law *régime*, to compare Mr. Lowe's or Mr. Fry's "Handbooks of London Charities" with the "Annuaire de la Charité of Paris." The fundamental difference that cannot fail to strike him is, that whereas the greater part of our private charities are medical, those of Paris are works to meet and assuage the woes of the orphan, to tide over times of exceptional distress, to lend to the poor in the sudden hour of need, to assist the convalescent workman to strength that he may again become independent, to apprentice indigent children, to give comforts to young mothers, and to enable those who should be and are not in wedlock, to marry.

I should remark that under municipal guidance and control (a control which has, let it be remembered, a representative basis), Paris hospitals have increased in extent and in efficiency. The reputation of their schools in the scientific world needs no comment from me. Their thoroughly flourishing and efficient condition leaves the undivided stream of private charity to flow in other than medical directions of relief. Individual charity, removed from the hospital subscription-box, waits, however, for the discharged patient at the hospital gates ; to give a crutch to the halt, a home to the foundling, and to lead the faint workman to the sweet and invigorating air of the convalescent home at Vincennes, and the invalid woman to the com-

forts of a regulated country life at the Vésinet. Let me here recapitulate some observations to which I was led when I was going through the spacious galleries of the Magasin Central, or general provisional dépôt, for the hospitals and poor asylums of Paris. I came upon stacks of neatly-folded bundles of linen.

“The Montyon gifts,” said the military-looking *chef* of the prodigious linen galleries.

“Now, these Montyon gifts, brought as they are to work harmoniously with the general administration of the hospitals, have effected and are effecting a vast amount of good. Such benefactors as the Devillas, the Lambrechts, the Simonins, and others of equal pretension, have done great good to their fellow-citizens by subjecting their individual benevolence to the governors of the general plan. We are only now waking to a very old fact, that enormous sums of money, bestowed in the noblest spirit by the charitable, are wasted in London, and in other great cities of England, because there is no general government of charity. There is no guide, no harmonious action towards certain ends admitted by public opinion to be desirable. When I have watched the whitebait patrons of Greenwich, sitting at the windows overhanging the mud of the river, and throwing clouds of pence to the hungry little urchins below for the pleasure of seeing them scramble in the dirt, I have thought of the



customary thoughtlessness and clumsiness with which formidable sums of money are cast forth in after-dinner atmospheres every London season. The Frenchman wonders at, and admires, our open-handedness, but despises our waste and disorder. We find the first remark which the French hospital commissioners made on getting amid our hospitals, dispensaries, and workhouse-infirmaries, is, that our institutions are a jumble. The philanthropists are many; but each one unconscious of his neighbour, is straining every nerve and muscle to tug the world in his own direction.

“MM. Blondel and Ser remark that the charitable institutions of England and France had a strong original family likeness. The starting-point of the difference is fixed by the laws of Vendémiaire and of Frimaire, in the fifth year of the Republic, which form the foundations of the Assistance Publique law of France. According to these laws, of revolutionary origin, each *commune* of France is bound to the utmost of its means to provide for its poor, its sick, and its infirm, under the gratuitous surveillance of local notabilities acting within the control of municipal authority. All hospitals and asylums, since the passing of these laws, are subject to a series of general rules, which, without infringing on the fundamental characteristics of private charities, give a cohesion to the gifts of isolated philanthropists, and enable people of position in each

commune to apply both the municipal and private relief resources in the most efficacious manner.

“The French Assistance fuses our State relief and private charitable institutions into one powerful organization that administers every conceivable form of relief; that carries the foundling to the public nursery in the Rue d’Enfer that governs the Maison de Secours, which is again governed by the Bureau de Bienfaisance, that personally investigates every application for help, and carries to the home of the deserving poor every necessary, from bread and blankets to wooden legs; that succours the aged and infirm at home or at Bicêtre, or the Salpêtrière; and that preserves in vigorous activity and growth hospitals that freely treat every ill that flesh and blood is heir to, and comprehend medical schools the fame of which reaches over the world.”

In Appendices 1 and 2, I submit to the reader the general regulations issued by the Central Body of the Assistance Publique of Paris, for their guidance. These general regulations will enable those who are practically acquainted with the administration of our own Poor Law to grasp the main differences, as well as the differences in detail, between our system and that of our neighbours.

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## CHAPTER II.

## THE FRENCH POOR LAWS.

THE great public office that is now charged with the care of the sick and indigent inhabitants of Paris, is the modification and consolidation of institutions of ancient date. When the first French revolution burst over France, the sick and poor of Paris were not uncared for. The ancient Hôtel-Dieu had existed since the reign of Louis le Débonnaire ; and had gathered to it, in the course of centuries, most valuable gifts, rights, and immunities. Popes and bishops besought the faithful to support the Hôtel-Dieu, and threatened with excommunication all who should attempt to mar the privileges of the house sacred to the sick and unfortunate. Puissant signiors, rich merchants, warriors and courtiers, bequeathed money, or obtained privileges, for the venerable and venerated institution. Later, the Great Bureau of the Poor and the Hôpital Général were established, and were protected by all classes

of the citizens. But the privileges of the Hôtel-Dieu are as curious as they are conclusive as to the gentle spirit in which, even centuries ago, the lofty and the powerful approached the unfortunate. The brothers and sisters of the ancient hospital were invested with the right (1308) to take a basketful of fish from every cart-load, and a proportionate quantity from other loads of eatables, for their poor. Their sheep grazed gratuitously in the royal forests. The confiscations suffered by duellists and gamblers were handed to the poor and afflicted. Every pipe of wine paid toll to the Hôtel-Dieu. Yet, in the middle of the seventeenth century, so great had been the demands on the directors of the ancient charity, that it was in debt, and an appeal was made to the charitable public. The hospital was rescued from danger. New privileges were given to it, and to the Hôpital Général. The administrators of these charities achieved the right of taking one-ninth of the price of every ticket of admission to the public theatres. Under Louis XIV. and Louis XVI. the original charitable institution of the French capital found its fortunes revive. In 1791 its income was a little more than £56,000, and the balance in hand, after paying all expenses, more than £5,000.

The second institution, of old date, and now comprehended in the organization known as the Assistance Publique, was the Great Bureau of the

Poor ! With this bureau I will class the Hôpital Général. The bureau was established so far back as 1535, and shared the patronage of the Hôtel-Dieu. The Hôpital Général, founded in 1656, was based on general subscriptions, and was intended to relieve the bureau from the pressure of beggars and vagabonds, who flocked to it from all parts. The bureau enjoyed many peculiar privileges and useful exemptions. Ample means were necessary. In the year of its foundation the beggars were so many in Paris, and so refractory, that the Parliament enforced the poor-tax, which had been commanded by Francis I. The clergy especially resisted this poor-law, and so violently that, in 1547, the Parliament ordered the authorities to seize the goods of all who refused. The Bureau of the Poor remained high in public esteem, and was so well supported that in 1789 its income was nearly £16,000.\*

The Hôpital Général soon became, however, the most important charitable institution in France. Seven years after its establishment its accounts showed an income of more than £31,000 ! and the money was wanted, for the year 1662 was a year of unprecedented famine, and the poor and starving were in crowds. The managers of the Hospital of

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\* The Duke of Mazarin gave £4,000, and others were equally generous.

the Hôtel-Dieu were at their wits' end. The starving poor flocked from the country, because in Paris they were certain not to perish of hunger. This experience led to the establishment of general hospitals in all the towns of the kingdom. Under Louis XV. and Louis XVI. new privileges were given to the Hôpital Général, and among them the right to lend money to the poor on the *mont de piété* system. When the revolution broke out this institution enjoyed an income of more than £169,000. La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt reported to the National Assembly, in 1791, that he estimated the income of Paris hospitals and asylums at £320,000; but M. Husson holds that this income must have amounted to £400,000.

This was a tempting sum to fall within the power of men exalted with the splendour of new political dreams, and daring enough to touch the money of the sick and poor. The new principles which the revolution represented were opposed to many of the monopolies and immunities which the hospitals and asylums enjoyed; and we are not surprised to find that they were abolished. But the friends of humanity—the reorganizers of the world—were not content with annulling old rights; they laid hands on the property of the charities of Paris. Murmurs of opposition arose. Even the men who voted for the spoliation confessed their shame; and two years afterwards the hospitals were once more

in possession of the heritage of the poor, or part of it. By the action of the Revolutionary Government the charitable institutions of Paris suffered an annual loss of £137,500, and the income of the poor throughout France was diminished three-fifths. The Directory "for the good of the poor" wished to seize all the properties belonging to the hospitals in order to "stimulate individual benevolence"; a crafty desire that was promptly checked. At last the charities of the country came under the control of the Consulate, and under this *régime* they were secured in their rights, and obtained a large capital for the losses they had suffered.

Count Trochet was charged with the responsibility of drawing up a project for the complete government of the hospitals and refuges of Paris. His report is an eloquent and masterly document, and is the basis of the present administration of the metropolitan charities. The hospitals and charities of Paris were placed under one administration in April 1801. The average number of inmates of the nineteen institutions thus brought under one government was 16,000; and the income of these institutions was £280,000, making the cost per head £17 10s.

There is no lack of charity in England; but there is lack of skill and economy in the administration of it. In the treatment of moneyless

orphans, for instance, the French pursue a course diametrically opposed to that in vogue in England. Here the poor are not severely taxed for the maintenance of the moneyless. The poor quarters are not compelled to support their own misery; leaving the *Chaussée D'Antin* free from a poor-tax. Paris misery is under the care not only of a central body of distinguished men, including political and scientific officials, and a member of the Court of the *Prudhommes*, but also of a committee of charity that sits in each of the twenty *arrondissements* into which the capital is divided. I make no apology for entering at length into the organization of the department of public charity, since it is of great importance (for the better understanding of what follows) that the reader should have a complete and clear idea of the machinery by which all the delicate threads of a complex system of alms-distribution are held together.

The central and chief offices whence the public charity of Paris is governed are situated on the *Quai Pelletier* and in the *Avenue Victoria*. The office is divided into four divisions and eight departments. The first division is that of the secretaries; the second is that which has charge of the hospitals and asylums; the third controls outdoor relief and pauper children; and the fourth is the financial department. In these four divisions 114 people are employed, together with 57 visitors



and 23 messengers. There is a central office, also, where the poor apply for admission to the hospitals or asylums, where they are examined by doctors, and recommended or not, according to their case or claims. Twelve physicians and six surgeons attend this office. No recommendations from governors, no votes or interest are required to secure relief; if relief be deserved, it is given. If a medical case be urgent, it is admitted without question. All the poor are equal, and one has as much interest as his neighbour.

The hospitals under the control of the Public Charity Committee are: The Hôtel-Dieu, which makes up 828 beds; the Charité, with 474 beds; the Saint Antoine, with 480 beds; the Necker, with 386 beds; the Cochin, with 119 beds; the Beaujon, with 417 beds; the Lariboisière, with 634 beds; the Saint-Louis, with 810 beds; the Midi, with 336 beds; the Lourcine, with 276 beds; the Enfants-Malades, with 598 beds (and 100 extra in the supplementary establishment); the Sainte - Eugénie, with 405 beds; the Maison d'Accouchement, with 402 beds; the Cliniques, with 152 beds; the Maison Municipale de Santé, with 300 beds; the Forges (supplementary establishment to the Enfants-Malades); and the Berck, with 100 beds.

Then there are the hospices, or asylums. These are: Bicêtre (for old men), with 2,725 beds; the

old women's asylum, Boulevard de l'Hôpital, with 4,422 beds ; the Incurables (male), with 420 beds ; the Incurables (female), with 686 beds ; and the Enfants-Assistés, with 524 beds. To these may be added, the Ménages, with 821 beds ; La Rochefoucauld, with 246 beds ; and the Sainte-Périne with 293 beds ; the Boulard Asylum, with 15 beds ; the Reconnaissance, on the Brézin foundation, with 316 beds ; the Devillas Asylum, with 35 beds ; and the Lambrechts Asylum, for Protestants exclusively.

The establishment of supply under the control of the Committee are :—the Central Bakery, the Central Wine Cellar at the General Wine Dépôt, the Central Meat Establishment at the Villjuif slaughter-house, the Central Druggists' at the Theatre of Anatomy, and the Provision Department at the Halle. Montyon's charity for the poor leaving the hospitals, and the Spinning-Works for the indigent are also under the direction of the Central Committee.

We now turn to the Bureaux de Bienfaisance, or public charity offices. As already stated, there is one of these officers in each arrondissement. The mayor is president by right of the office of his arrondissement. He is supported by his assistants, by twelve administrators, and by an unlimited number of commissioners of charity ; and benevolent ladies, doctors, surgeons, midwives, and sisters of charity are attached to each committee in numbers

according to the services required. In each arrondissement there are poor-houses, served by sisters of charity. These vary in number according to the number of the poor in the arrondissement.

I have now described the main features of public charity as established in Paris. The reader will see that the system adopted by the Government is comprehensive, and that it is supported by property and taxes that never affect the pockets of that great class which exists here as in England, namely, workmen that live from hand to mouth, and eat or fast as commerce prospers or declines. And a million sterling is spent on the poor and sick of this capital by the agents of the State; yet this sum leaves much suffering unrelieved, or there could be no reason for the existence of the many *œuvres* or works, which are conducted by private charity in every part of the city. These are more than a hundred in number. They also, in some cases, obtain help from the Ministry of the Interior, the Municipality, and the Prefecture of the Seine. These good works are mostly in favour of poor mothers in their time of trouble, or destitute orphans, or children whose mothers cannot attend to them throughout the day. The *crèches* of Paris, originally established by their present president, M. F. Marbeau, are an honour to the citizens; and I shall endeavour to show the reader how it is that these public nurseries have succeeded in France,

and have had only the most moderate success in England. There are the reformatories for the young, moreover, and homes for fallen women. These exist independent of the control of the Committee of Public Charity, and, as our allies have it, they have all their *raison d'être*. Because although, on the 21st January 1790, a decree was issued that created a committee, with good and earnest La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt at their head, for the extinction of mendicity, and the famous declaration was made, that "every man had a right to subsistence"; there are beggars still, and lazy vagabonds who will not do work for their bread, and there are empty bellies, not a few. Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, although he did not accomplish the extinction of beggary, lived to be one of the most useful men France ever held within her frontiers. It was he who established schools for mutual instruction; it was he who introduced vaccination. He desired to put Christianity in action, to make the workshops and the fields so many churches. He presided at the inauguration of the famous Arts and Trades Conservatory, and he brought improvements to penitentiaries and hospitals. M. Krœpfelin says he spoke of charity to the rich and of labour and economy to the workman, and he founded savings banks in his country. He devoted his life and his fortune to the well-being of the humbler classes of his country. He

gave more than gold. De Gerando, author of "The Visitor of the Poor," wrote under the title of his book, "The charity which is the least worthy of the name is that which gives gold only"; and it is to be remarked of the charitable institutions of Paris, that De Gerando's warning has not been forgotten—less money is given here than in London; but I think I shall succeed in showing that the benevolent give time rather than gold, and there are more district visitors, and fewer auriferous subscription lists.

Having studied the condition of the workmen of France, and penetrated to their homes, what says M. Simon of the effect of public and private assistance as given to the poor? He says that in more than half the houses of working-men charity is known. Crowds of really charitable folk visit the poor from house to house; watch them in sickness, give them food when it is scarce, and money when the purse is empty. And what is the result of this true charity? I am sorry to say that the result is not altogether a satisfactory one. Deserving poor are rescued from death, but crowds of clever mimics counterfeit woe to wake the compassion of the weekly visitor. There is the poverty that hides its head in shame, and there is simulated poverty, poverty that dresses itself in the foulest rags, as an actor puts on his pasteboard crown and poses in artful array of royal spangles.

These mimics of brazen countenance are not rare in Paris. At the approach of the almsgiver the family that has learned to depend on his compassion assumes its woe-begone air. Father, mother, and children have become beggars! M. Simon asserts—and I trust he overdraws the picture—that by the visitor-system of charity, even commerce suffers. When work is plentiful, employers ask skilful hands to work another hour, which additional labour would greatly increase their wages. The request is welcome to men of independent mind; but there are many who refuse to do additional work. Their excuse is that when work is no longer plentiful they will be required to continue the extra at a reduced wage; the fact being that they are afraid of being removed from the list of people who are to be helped by charity. Why should they work for the money they can obtain by a pleading look and an outstretched hand? The demoralization that falls upon families where begging has become a habit—a regular source of income—may be remarked in Paris as in London. M. Simon says, “Don’t put money in idle hands—put a tool.” But this is no solution of mendicancy, the modern sore that has spread with the spread of charity.

Modern charity, it is observable, has taken a hundred forms; and French writers may be proud to record the fact that in Paris public benevolence

has thought of the poor child before he comes into the world. Maternity charities have watched at the bed-side of his pauper mother. The doors of the Foundling protect him against the consequences of desertion. When he begins to "feel his feet"—should his mother be called away to work for her daily bread—the public nursery, sweet and commodious, is at hand to receive him. Then there is the asylum for infancy, where he is tenderly treated. Thence, directly his little fingers can work, he is withdrawn, as a machine grown profitable, by his rapacious parents, who have left him to grow to this condition on charity. Public charity is not, even now, weary of him. She calls and wheedles him to school. Should his father apprentice him far away from home, Charity seeks the apprentices' boarding-house; he falls under some protecting "patronage." Become a man, he finds the hospitals open when he is ill; and the asylums, when age has robbed him of his strength. And thus charity has been folded like a cloak about him, from the day he first crowed in a public cradle. And gentle charity will, with loving hands, preside at his death-bed. The danger of all this charity is manifest; yet who would take the crust from the hand of the orphan child?

It is because public and private benevolence have spread over every misery and misfortune, and that great classes of habitual beggars and false paupers

have been produced, that inquiries into the methods adopted in different countries for the distribution of alms have become necessary. For while hundreds of deserving poor remain unrelieved, the shameless thousands who find the bread of charity more toothsome than that of labour, crowd public and private almoners. The Paris hospitals are always full, and many are turned from the doors; the asylums are crowded here, as in other parts of France. The bureaux of charity scattered throughout the territory assist more than a million of people who are in, or feign to be in, misery; and still the State is not strong enough for the poverty with which it has to deal. Enormous sums are spent; but are they well spent? A man of authority has said that in sixty years out-door relief has not rescued a man from indigence. He has declared that, on the contrary, this relief creates a race of hereditary paupers. M. Simon advances to support this terrible conclusion. He boldly asserts that it is true, not only of Paris, but of the whole of France. Charity, both public and private, has become a family inheritance; and the monstrous evil not only takes help from the meritorious, but it diminishes public wealth by taking from the sum of labour. These hereditary paupers are hereditary sluggards.

In England as well as in France, we find distinct classes of people who are fastened on all the charities. I remember a middle-aged English-



woman, who had two deaf and dumb children. She worked these children with consummate ability. Every charity to which she could appeal was at her fingers' ends. She had the names, titles, and addresses of all the charitable people who were interested in the deaf and dumb. Her pockets were plugged with testimonials, references, and letters of recommendation. She had money enough to provide for them herself. Her husband was an upholsterer; and she had a good lodging-house. Yet all her time was devoted to the profitable parade of her two unfortunate children. She demoralized the entire family.

The most important part of the administration of charity is to watch that it is not abused. M. de Rémusat, when Minister of the Interior, in 1840, said, in a circular addressed to his prefects: "The hospital system weakens, if it does not destroy, family ties." This is a startling proposition. There is some truth in it. The hospital system removes the sick from the home of their relatives; it denies the wife the sweet services of affection by her husband's and children's bed-side. In France the system of asylums for the aged has not been without evil results. The asylum, supported by the community, has become the natural hotel or resting-place of age. The Foundling takes the place of many a mother who is well able to support her child. Let the reader imagine the state of that

class to which the director of public assistance appeals, when he is compelled to bribe mothers with 10s. a month to bring up their own children !

The second arrondissement, that has its bureau of benevolence in the flourishing Rue de la Banque, is a happy quarter where financiers and men of thousands most do congregate. It is the centre of colossal transactions, and I found in its bureau of benevolence that *dolce far niente* which I anticipated. The bureau is in the Mairie. When I approached it, there was not the least sign of business, within or without. A gentleman seemed to be watering the yard in front of it, *pour se distraire*. In the bureau I found two gentlemen who appeared to be enjoying a quiet conversation. My inquiries as to the operations of the bureau were soon satisfied. One gentleman assured me that I need not trouble myself about details. "You see," he said, "we have only very few poor in the arrondissement. As for accounts, or a manual of operations, we have not printed such a thing for years. You may, perhaps, find something of the kind in the fifth or tenth arrondissement, but here we are in the midst of rich people."

The gentleman who acts as secretary to the bureau, here interposed that it might be interesting to give me a notion of the income of the arrondissement. This income was nearly £6,000 a year. I see that in the year 1860 it gave to every poor

household on its list the value of £4 10s., being next in munificence to the ninth arrondissement, which in the same year gave nearly £6. There was a rich air about the bureau, and an easy manner of conducting what little business there was, that suggested to one how well it would be if some of the superfluities of the second arrondissement could be made over to the fifth or eleventh; or, again, if the spare hours of the gentlemen of the Rue de la Banque were given to the inquiry into the general condition of the labour market I have suggested.

The manner in which the Assistance Publique takes care of orphans and foundlings is worth studying. It is a system the wisdom of which has been often questioned. It has been said, and is still maintained by many, that to open houses and give indiscriminately to the foundling, is to offer a premium to immorality. "What!" Mrs. Grundy exclaims, "you would take up these children of nobody knows whom, and fold them to your bosom, and feed and clothe the little wretches! You would put your arms round the necks of these children of sin!"

"Ay, that would we, and that will we do," the authorities of the Department of the Seine boldly answer. They show no great inclination to enter into the question whether the help they give to the foundling eases the punishment of immorality, and so increases immorality. They are content to point

to the plump and healthy children whom they protect, and to reply that a child, being born, and left alone in the world in its helpless years, has a claim upon the protection of all Christian men. That there is need, and urgent need, for help in the Department of the Seine, the archives of M. Husson's great offices abundantly show. I should premise that the foundlings and orphans who come under the care of the Department of the Seine, are first told off to an asylum, and there distributed to be taken care of in country places. The number of deserted children and foundlings gathered from the streets in 1861 was 3,362, being 1,770 boys and 1,592 girls. In the same year the Assistance Publique took charge of 406 orphans, viz. 201 boys and 205 girls; making the total addition to their great family of unfortunates 3,768. Of this number no less than 707 died within the year. The stories of this crowd of unhappy children left by the poor or the wicked to the tender mercies of the world, are classified under a few heads, 541 were legitimate; 276 were acknowledged natural children; 2,903 were unacknowledged natural children; nothing was known of 48; 2,469 were abandoned at ages varying from one day to one month, 683 were under a year old, and 616 were more than a year old when left to the authorities. Let us now see who abandoned all these children in one year. I

find that 2,428 were abandoned by their own mothers ; 195 by other relatives ; 371 by midwives ; 168 by nurses ; 558 were sent by the directors from the hospitals for various reasons ; and there were 48 of whose origin there was no trace. Paris is responsible for most of this child desertion ; 3,586 of the total having been born within the twenty arrondissements. We have some revelations on the manner in which these children of misfortune or of crime were left to the public care : 1,172 were regularly left at the bureau of admission, or were admitted with an order from one of the hospitals ; 12 were left at the turning table to be for ever unknown to their unnatural parents ; 152 were left at the dépôt of the asylum ; 1,579 were forwarded by the commissaries of police ; 205 were forwarded from the prefecture of police ; and 48 were found in the public highway, or in courts and passages, or on staircases. The Assistance Publique have endeavoured to sum up the causes which have led to this wholesale abandonment of infants. Penury heads the lists of causes, accounting for the abandonment of 2,906 innocents ; the death of the mother accounts for 531 ; while the parents of 293 had disappeared. The progenitors of 38 were in prison. The manner in which the parents lived, whether in furnished or unfurnished lodgings, is, again, taken by the Assistance as a test of the extent of the odger's poverty ; only 905 of the acknowledged

parents had their own furniture, 2,002 being housed in miserable furnished apartments.

The system of placing children out with poor country people, appears to work admirably well. I have already drawn the reader's attention to it, as preferable to the English system, of bringing up unfortunate children in large asylums under almost military discipline. One test of the happy results of what may be called truly the family system, is the number of children who, being over 12 years of age, are enabled to earn their own living in the families in which they have been reared. There are 7,769 *protégés* of the Assistance Publique who, being now between 12 and 21 years of age, cost nothing to the administration. It is the rule of the administration to keep the fewest possible children in their asylum. They are more cheaply and healthily brought up under artificial home influences created for them in the country. The mortality is greater in the asylum than in the country cottage. In the former it is 14 per cent, in the latter it is 9 per cent. The deaths are chiefly among the newly-born children. Of the 1,604 abandoned children who died in the country in 1861, not less than 1,059 were under one year old. A medical commission has sat to inquire into the reasons why the mortality is so great among these young children. The first and foremost reason discovered by the doctors, is the repugnance of the

mothers when forced, as they are in the hospitals, to nurse their offspring. These mothers, the commissioners assert, have only one thought, namely, to separate themselves from their offspring directly they are outside the hospital; so that when the babes of one month old are handed to "good mercenary nurses," it is often too late to repair the neglect of the mother. "However," says the president of the medical commission, "the most incontestable cause of death, that which overbears all others, and on which all the doctors concerned are agreed, is the insufficiency of the infant's natural food."

To meet this evil an increase of wet-nurses was made during the year 1863. It is not only poor mothers who leave their children to be nourished by strangers. It is the rule among the rich, a mother's luxury, for which the rising generation pays in weakness and disease—which tempts poor women to go astray in the country, that they may earn higher wages, by giving that which belongs to their own child, at a price, to the children of Croesus. The nurseries to which children abandoned by their natural protectors are at once conveyed, are under medical superintendence, and are provided with well-paid wet-nurses from the country. Although the mortality among these nurslings of the Department of the Seine is 49 per cent., it is not so heavy as the average infant mortality of

nineteen other Departments, where the mortality exceeds 50 per cent.

The Assistance Publique also takes temporary charge of the children of parents who are in hospital or in prison ; and these they propose to distribute in country cottages near Paris, that they may be easily brought back when their parents are again able to maintain them. It appears, however, that very few parents withdraw their children from the guardianship of the Assistance Publique ; only 322 were withdrawn in 1861. Of these, 222 were withdrawn by their mothers ; while two children were withdrawn by private benefactors. The administrators are very particular as to the morality and means of any person who desires to father, and relieve them from the charge of, an orphan. They, indeed, exact from the benefactor a security that he will properly provide for the child in case he should, in years to come, change in his feelings towards it. He is not allowed to give it a few years of luxury while his sentiment towards it lasts, and then, in a moment of caprice or of temper, to abandon it once more to poverty. M. Husson reports that although these stringent laws exist, which bind benefactors to make permanent provision for their *protégés*, no year passes which does not see some poor abandoned children placed by private charity in good, and sometimes in brilliant, positions.



We now approach the door of a bureau of benevolence—one of the twenty which distribute alms to the poor of Paris. Although nearly one thousand paid officials are employed in alms-distribution, at an expense of about £58,000 yearly, much gratuitous help is used. The salaries of the paid officials are exceedingly moderate—that of the director-in-chief being only £600 per annum. With moderate salaries and constant gratuitous service at command, the expense of distributing alms appears to be no more than 5 per cent. of the Assistance Publique income. In this bureau we shall find mayor, and assistant, and numbers of gratuitous administrators and commissioners, both male and female. Every bureau has its complete organization, and a certain sum of money at its disposal, derived from the city and State funds, and from private charity. There are, therefore, arrondissements where the poor are handsomely provided for, as there are arrondissements where the provision is meagre. For instance, in the ninth arrondissement the annual allowances made to each necessitous family on the bureau books amount in value to £5 17s. 6d., or at the rate of £2 18s. per head. In the thirteenth arrondissement the value of the help given to each family is only £2 4s., or 15s. 6d. per head. I find that the average relief of the twenty arrondissements is £3 5s. per family, or £1 7s. 4d. per head. Where the rich are many

and the poor are few the help is bountiful. At the door of the Bureau of Benevolence we find a book in which the rules for the administration of out-door relief are printed. These rules are divided into 157 Articles. A glance at these rules will enable the reader to understand the internal economy and exterior activities of the bureau we are about to enter.

The bureau takes charge of all out-door relief of the arrondissement in which it is situated. The bureau is under the authority of the Prefect of the Seine ; and the general director of public charities is responsible for its proper management. The *personnel* of the bureau consists of the mayor of the arrondissement, of his assistants, of twelve administrators, of an unlimited number of charitable commissioners and ladies, and of a secretary-treasurer. Physicians, surgeons, midwives, and sisters of charity; and minor servants, are at the disposal of the governing body. Among all these servants of the poor, the secretary and the medical men and women only are paid. The secretary is responsible for all moneys spent, and all help in kind distributed. He signs every necessary document for relief. The bureau is, in short, under his authority. He is responsible both to the committee, whose orders he carries out, and to the Prefect of the Seine, as the chief director of public charities. The arrondissement is divided into

twelve divisions, each division being in the charge of an administrator. The charitable commissioners and ladies visit the poor, and report on cases that come under their notice. So much for the organization of the work, of which the bureau is the centre.

The conditions on which a poor person can place his name on the list of persons entitled to relief are many. In the first place, the applicant for regular relief must have resided one year in Paris. He must be a Frenchman. Foreigners must have been ten consecutive years in France before they can claim assistance. Relief is divided into ordinary, or annual relief, and extraordinary, or temporary relief. The poor who are qualified to receive ordinary or annual relief are the blind, the paralytic, persons afflicted with cancer, the crippled, and the aged who have completed their sixty-fourth year. The poor entitled to extraordinary or temporary relief are the wounded, the sick, lying-in women, or women who are suckling and have other children to support ; or, being destitute, deserted children, and orphans. Extraordinary relief is not restricted to the above. It may be claimed by heads of families where there are at least three children under fourteen years of age, or where there are two children, if one labours under a serious infirmity ; or where the wife is *enceinte* with her third child ; deserted women ; widows or widowers

having at least two children under fourteen years of age, or one crippled and sick child ; widows or deserted women who have one child and are *enceinte* with another ; and generally any persons who are placed in want by unforeseen circumstances. No poor person can claim help if he cannot prove that his children go to school, or while he refuses to have them vaccinated. Applicants are admitted to the list, or rejected, by the committee of the bureau. The admitted are entered in a book as No. 3 or 4, as the case may be, and their number is entered in a second book, for the divisional administrator ; and in a third, for the general bureau of the Quai Pelletier. Changes of residence of the poor are reported by the charitable commissioners or district visitors. The bureau does its utmost to distribute work among its poor. The committee put themselves into communication with manufacturers and others who employ labour, and so endeavour to give work to the unemployed. Unemployed women are sent to the pauper spinning establishment, which I shall describe in due course. The relief given is distributed in kind as much as possible. This relief consists of clothes, food, fuel, and bedding. The clothing is distributed by the secretary, or by the sisters of a *Maison de Secours*, on the authority of an administrator. Tickets entitling the bearer to food and fuel are distributed among the poor by the administrators, and the charitable

commissioners and visiting ladies. With these tickets the poor can go to the butchers or bakers who are in connection with the bureau. The committee of the bureau determines the amount of help in money to be given to each applicant. Money help must be given by the hands of the secretary into the hands of the person for whose relief it is destined, except when the money is to buy clothes for the first communion of a pauper's child, when the money may be handed to a curé, or the superior of a Maison de Secours.

Among the miscellaneous gifts distributed by the bureau on the report of an administrator are bandages, wooden legs, mechanical corsets, &c.; and these things are given to any poor persons, whether they be on the books of the bureau or not. In the same way the bureau distributes passports, with tickets of relief by the way; permits the poor to hawk goods in the streets; gives exemption from the duties on registration or inheritance, or from taxes; and watches the restitution of the clothes of relatives who have died in the hospitals. The bureau is also authorised to lend sheets, counterpanes, shirts, &c., in urgent cases. In some cases the bureau helps the widow to apprentice her boy, or to pay her rent.

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## CHAPTER III.

## OFFICES OF BENEVOLENCE.

UNDER the guidance of one of the officials, I made a minute examination of the most active bureau of benevolence in Paris—that by the Panthéon. On the first floor is the secretary's office ; and on the fourth is a warehouse, packed with clothes for distribution in the arrondissement ; and the ground floor is the active part of the establishment. I turned first into the doctor's department, where applications are made for home medical relief, and where the doctor receives pauper patients whether they are on the list of the bureau or not. This department of the bureau is so admirably managed that it deserves particular notice. Its action leaves no room for the neglect of a case by a doctor. The regulations are strict, and leave no chance of escape. The friends of a sick person apply for the assistance of a doctor ; the clerk in attendance takes down the address of the applicant,

and at once sends a letter to the medical man of the division in which the patient lies, directing him to attend. These letters are kept printed, blanks being left for the patient's name and address. In the printed letter the doctor is reminded that he will find in the patient's house a form, on which he will be good enough to make his notes at every visit, on the state of the case, for the information of the Relief Commission. He will also find a letter, the blanks of which he must fill up, describing the probabilities of the case at first sight. This letter is sealed by the doctor, and left in the patient's room, to be collected by one of the visitors or administrators from the bureau. The form which is placed in the patient's room is of great importance to the patient. He must present it when he sends to the *Maison de Secours* for gratuitous medicine. It is so arranged that it affords the bureau a rapid view of the stages of the sick person's complaint, and of the number and dates of the doctor's visits.

The duties of the visitor check those of the medical man. The visitor in whose division the patient lies, is furnished with a form that he must fill up for the guidance of the Relief Commission, that sits once a week at the bureau. This form is very complicated. The information it requests is comprehensive ; it is headed with the names of the administrator of the division and of the doctor in

attendance. The class of relief to which the patient is admitted is described. The name, age, profession, address, and floor of the patient are set forth. The household of the patient is enumerated. The number of children under and over fourteen years of age, the family's means of living, the trade of one and all, must be clearly registered. The Relief Commission desire to know from this paper, whether the patient has been in the hospital, the amount of his rent, how much rent is due, how many rooms he occupies, whether he has a fire or not, or the means of procuring one ; whether he has people about him who can nurse him ; whether his sickness interferes with the calling of any of his family ; whether he has a bed, and, if he has one, what kind of bed ; whether there are sheets to it, and shirts for him, and how many ; how long he has been under treatment, and the result of this treatment. The visitor or administrator fills up this paper, and makes any observations he may judge necessary on the general case, describing also the relief he recommends to be given by the bureau. It is on this document the Relief Commission acts.

By these means a sick applicant for medical relief is at once taken in hand, not only by the doctor, but by the district administrator, and his charitable visitors, male and female. I have already explained that there are twelve administrators in



each arrondissement. I asked my informant of the fifth, with whom I was making a tour through his busy bureau, how twelve administrators, who were charitable gentlemen, unpaid, and with their own business to do daily, could manage to keep an eye on 10,000 poor—the number on the bureau's books. He said :

“ They could not possibly do all, or nearly all, the visiting. They have honorary commissioners and charitable ladies under them, who act and visit for them. The administrators have about fourteen of these good helpers each. These people find out the poor, and carry orders for bread, or meat, or fuel, or coals to the deserving. The administrator receives their reports, and examines them.”

I asked for explanation as to the manner in which the stories of the poor were substantiated. The bureau official proceeded :

“ The administrator is the person who recommends the Relief Commission to put an applicant on the books, or not, and suggests the nature and extent of the relief to be afforded. In order to speak with confidence, each administrator attends one day in the week, at a certain hour, at one of the relief-houses, to receive all the applicants who require the help of the bureau. Thus, M. Thiellment will attend at one relief-house in the Rue Boulebrie, at 7 o'clock, next Monday, and M. Hamelin will be at our house in the Rue de l'Épée

de Bois at three in the afternoon. They will sit there and receive all the poor people who may apply to them for assistance, and recommend the cases which are deserving to the Relief Commission; or themselves distribute tickets for bread, meat, or clothing, or money. The food they obtain from the tradesmen with whom we are in communication in the district; the clothes are here, and they must fetch them."

This official's explanation showed that there were in all about 160 persons connected with the bureau, who were in personal communication with the poor of the arrondissement. I visited the office where the clothes are distributed. It was a small room, with a spacious cupboard in it. In this cupboard, clothes of various kinds were neatly packed. On one shelf were parcels of baby-linen ready for distribution; above were shirts, chemises, children's clothes, blouses, &c. A poor person had only to come provided with a ticket, obtained from an administrator after a personal interview and a visit at home, and the things were ready. At a table hard by were masses of papers.

"These," said my companion, turning them over, "these are marriage papers, certificates of birth, or other legal documents, all obtained gratuitously for the poor through the office. Stamps, and all costs, are remitted. But we shall see the varieties of relief in the next room."

“The next room” was the apartment in which the tickets of all descriptions, the certificates of birth of the old pensioners, &c., were deposited in neatly arranged green-labelled boxes. An *employé* at the principal desk was stationed near one of the pigeon holes, that gave into the public part of the office. Through this hole the poor person who had a money ticket delivered it. The *employé* saw that it was *en règle*, and paid it; dropping it into one of the compartments of a great open box at his side. I was astonished at the variety of the tickets distributed, as well as by the order with which they were kept. Along one shelf the names of the poor on the bureau list were ranged. Above were those who had ceased to be on the list. Opposite was a cupboard in which were piles of bread tickets, meat tickets, tickets for five francs, for eight francs, for ten francs, vaccination tickets, all of colours that distinguished each from the rest. The tickets for monthly money payments were simply arranged. Against each month the name of the administrator of the holder’s division in the arrondissement must be placed, before the money due can be touched. This precaution makes fraud upon the poor-box impossible; since the administrator will not sign until he has ascertained that the ticket-holder lives, and that he continues to deserve assistance. I inquired into the meaning of vaccination tickets. Was not gratuitous vaccina-

tion within the reach of everybody?" "Within the reach!" my guide answered; "oh yes; but we have to tempt them. These vaccination tickets entitle the holder to three francs for every child he or she has vaccinated. One mother took three children, and she received nine francs from us."

The bureau will lend beds and bedding, in urgent cases. It distributes straw from time to time, for mattresses; and twice in the year makes a distribution of wooden shoes. The visitors have a care for the morals of their *protégés*. When an administrator has persuaded a couple, who have been living together illicitly, to marry, and the priest has blessed them, he will obtain a small sum of money, from the Relief Commission, to help them. Thus the bureau comes to the help of the poor at every stage of life. In one of these boxes are the papers of the orphans for whom a roof has been found; there is the old men's box, and there is the box of the blind. There are "two categories" into which the poor are divided—the temporary and the permanent. The temporary relief appears to be for three months.

"We have four collections every year in the churches, and balls and fêtes occasionally. The fruits of these are distributed among our poor. The money we have is equitably divided among the poor on our list. You see we have no tax, we depend upon private charity in some measure.

And then our revenues are levied to a great extent on superfluities, or rather in proportion as things are luxuries. There is a due payable on all things sold in the markets, in the fish market, the flour market, the horse market, &c."

I asked how these dues were arranged.

"Take the fish market. I remember that I saw 10 per cent levied on smelts, whereas only 5 per cent was levied on the commoner kinds of fish."

The funerals of the poor inscribed on the books of a bureau of benevolence, are conducted by the administration of the *Pompes Funèbres*, gratuitously. The system of visiting, and of relief connected with visiting, as carried on in Paris bureaux of benevolence, would be worth the close study of the London clergymen, who are now regretting the difficulty of finding enough visitors for the poor, in neighbourhoods like Bethnal Green. The difference between the relief of the poor in London and the relief of the poor in Paris is very striking. That which surprises and delights the observer of the Paris system is, that it is conducted, under rational guarantees, by the gratuitous servants of the poor. Out-door relief is the rule, and it is administered with care. People are not locked up in work-houses, nor left to be dealt with by ignorant, hard-hearted men. That which is contributed by State and municipality to the relief of the poor, is por-

tioned out to each arrondissement according to the number of its paupers. It is not the fifth arrondissement that pays every farthing spent in the relief of its 10,000 poor. That which the arrondissement gives to its bureau of benevolence is a free contribution over and above the sum which the Bureau Centrale sends, and which the Montyons have bequeathed.

On my way out of the Mairie my attention was caught by a conspicuous poster, pasted by one of the door-posts. It was the judgment of the court on a man who had robbed the poor by selling them wine and water for wine. Here were his name and address. His sentence included fine, imprisonment for eight days, and the publication of the sentence on the man's own shop.

The Maisons de Secours, or houses of relief, which are attached to all the bureaux of benevolence, are institutions that deserve patient attention. The first I visited was a new model house, built in the rear of the mairie of the first arrondissement. It is a commodious establishment, all the work of which is done by sisters, under the government of a sister superior. The upper part of the building is devoted to the teaching of the poor children of the arrondissement. There are four lofty, cleanly school-rooms, where some 350 children receive primary instruction; and on the ground-floor there is a play-room for them. The educational part of

the establishment, however, is quite independent of the relief department under the control of the bureau of benevolence. The municipality has charge of the schools, and the Assistance Publique is responsible for the relief to the poor.

I was stopped at the entrance to this house of relief by a *brancard*, or portable bed, that was closely curtained. It had been brought out to convey a sick person to one of the hospitals. The secretary of the bureau, who accompanied me, explained that these portable beds are kept in the houses of relief; and that, when one of the doctors orders a patient to be removed to the hospital, he is fetched from his bed and conveyed to his destination in one of these *brancards* at the expense of the bureau; the expense for each removal varying from three francs to four francs, according to distance. We entered the hall, or waiting-room. Patients were sitting, waiting their turn to see the doctor. As they entered they went to a table in the corner of the hall, where a man was sitting with a pile of coloured papers or prescription forms before him.

This man checks the people who apply for gratuitous medical advice and medicines. He knows all the faces of the applicants. They cannot easily deceive him. He is paid twenty francs a month to attend here every day from ten till noon. As each patient arrives, he enters his name upon one of the prescription forms. This form is carried by the

patient when he goes to the consulting-room, and upon it the doctor writes what the patient requires. If the prescription be a simple affair, the patient returns to the waiting-room, in the northern part of which is a wicket. Over the wicket is a list of doctor's attendances. Tapping at the wicket, he is answered by a sister from within. She, with an assistant, has the care of a pharmacy. She takes the doctor's prescription, and hands the patient the remedy prescribed for his ailment. In this way the sisters of the first arrondissement have distributed more than £80 worth of physic within the last three months. If the prescription be a complicated one, beyond the limits of the chemical sister's little shop, the patient conveys it to one of the chemists of the arrondissement appointed by the bureau, who makes it up, and charges the value of it to the *Assistance Publique*.

Beyond the waiting-room for patients were the offices of the sisters ; a neat, cosy kitchen, with an *appétissant* odour of viands in it; a cool *salle-à-manger* beyond, with snowy table-cloth and bright glass ; and at hand was a recreation-room, ornamented with sacred figures, with an office (decorated with the crucifix and a portrait of Pius IX.), looking out into a yard filled with blooming plants and flanked with high walls.

" You see there are no windows in the walls," said the secretary. " It is the rule of the sisters'



order, not ours. There must be no windows of strangers giving upon their establishment."

On the first floor was the store-room, whither we were conducted by a sister, who appeared to be proud (and well she might be) of the collection of clothes for the poor, which were ranged upon shelves behind white curtains.

"The poor," said the good sister, as she unfolded the various articles of apparel and made me feel the solid texture; "the poor come to us with tickets given to them by the administrators, or our ladies of charity, and we give them the article for which they have an order. Here is an order for a blouse, and here is one for a chemise. Then we have warm woollen petticoats, stout trousers for the men, socks and stockings of all sizes, counterpanes, ticking for mattresses, and flannel waistcoats for the delicate."

The secretary for the bureau here interjected: "Ay, and look at the flannel waistcoats. They are solid and well made. They cost us four francs and a half (3s. 8½d.) each."

The sister continued: "We have 1,500 sheets in use. These we lend to the poor, and exchange the dirty ones for clean ones, once a month. And we give new aprons as presents to the little girls who learn their lessons well." The room adjoining the store-room was the work-room, or *ouvroir*, in which six little girls were at needle-work.

“These,” said the sister, “are the orphans who live in the house.” They looked healthy and cheerful over their needles.

The house, I should observe, is not entirely kept either by the municipality or by the Assistance Publique. The sisters take in work of various descriptions, which is done in the house, and they have the profit of it. The secretary of the bureau had just paid the monthly salary of the sisters when I called. I saw that the salary of each was £24 per annum, and that there was an inferior workwoman at £8 per annum. On these payments the sisters are expected to provide their own food and linen. They have no house-rent to pay, nor have they to buy fuel, nor candles, nor household utensils. The arrangement is economical for the bureau of benevolence, and an excellent one for the poor, to whom the sisters appear to be devoted. The seven sisters in this house, who carry out the orders of the bureau of benevolence, not only keep the wardrobe of the poor, and tend the orphan, and dispense medicines to the sick—they visit the homes of their *protégés*. By the kitchen, and between it and the outer waiting-room, is the druggist’s department. It is a model druggist’s shop—for neatness.

The sister laughed as she ushered us in, and she saw me examine a row of colossal white jars. “These,” she said, “are for the *tisane*. Our little English sister doesn’t like it, but we use it in large

quantities. All those jars are soon filled and emptied."

Near the *tisane* tanks (for tanks they might reasonably be called) were portly bottles that contained various syrups meant to flavour and give peculiar qualities to this same *tisane*. Against the walls were bottles full of drugs, acids, &c., all distinctly labelled.

"You remark," said the sister, "certain bottles with large red labels upon them. Those bottles contain dangerous drugs; and every phial we send out that contains anything poisonous in it, that is for external application, has a red label like these upon it."

In drawers under the bottles were compartments in which the prescriptions of each visiting doctor were kept separately. There were compartments for the midwives' certificates also. In this pharmacy the sisters kept, moreover, orders for broth and baths. If the doctor ordered a bath, the patient applied at the wicket with the doctor's order in his hand, and a sister at once gave him a ticket for a bran, or any other bath. In the same way broth is distributed to the weak.

"You see, then," said the secretary, as we left the House of Relief, most courteously conducted by the sister-superior, who has done duty to the poor in many lands, and performed her duties as though she was enjoying a holiday—"You see what we do

in this house. Here is gratuitous education for children—we even bribe their parents to have them vaccinated. We give gratuitous medical advice to all comers, and free physic, food, clothing, and baths to the poor. We send doctors and nurses to their homes. We tempt those who are leading immoral lives to marry. We support the old and the infirm; and the most trying of all this labour is done by unpaid servants.” The secretary handed me his “manual” to the bureau of benevolence of the first arrondissement.

I find that the twelve administrators of charity to the first arrondissement are assisted in their labours by no less than sixty-two commissioners and ladies of charity. The administrators and commissioners are men of position. Some are retired merchants, many are retired advocates, one is an inspector of markets, another is the editor of the *Echo Agricole*, a third is a member of the Council of Prud’hommes. The duties are not light. Every commissioner or lady of charity has his or her streets, or parts of streets, or allotted houses, for the poor of which he or she is responsible, and on the condition of which a report is due to the bureau. The administrators have to hold ragged levées. Some receive every morning at home as early as 7 o’clock; others use the houses of relief for their receptions; but all have their appointed hours and places. There is, indeed, in a bureau

of benevolence, time and place for everything. Bandages, for instance, are distributed on Mondays and Fridays, from 10 o'clock till noon, while orthopædic contrivances are given out on Wednesdays from 11 until 1 o'clock. The blind and paralytic who are applicants for pensions must present themselves on the third Wednesday of the month, at 2 o'clock. Vaccinations take place on Wednesdays at noon.

There is nothing worth particular observation in the four houses of relief of the fifth arrondissement. They are arranged much in the same manner as that of the first arrondissement. They are conducted by sisters who are paid by the bureau. They include schools for primary instruction, under the authority of the Prefect of the Seine. In them the administrators hold their levées, generally at 7 or 8 o'clock in the evening, when they inquire into the mode of life, the moral character, and the means of the applicant for temporary or permanent relief. The hours of these levées are known all through the arrondissement. They are the second ordeal through which the person who wishes to be inscribed must go. He or she must first receive a visit at home from one of the divisional commissioners or sisters of charity. It is generally after a favourable report from one of these commissioners or ladies of charity to the administrator that the applicant for relief repairs to the administrator's levée. It is hardly necessary

to add that in these four houses of relief of the fifth arrondissement there are waiting-rooms for patients, consulting rooms where the divisional doctors receive them, and a pharmaceutical department, as in the first arrondissement, where the sisters dispense all simple medicines, distribute broth, and give orders for baths. From these houses visiting sisters, who are paid by a pittance from the bureau, climb to the seventh story of houses of pestilence. The income of the bureau of the fifth arrondissement for the year 1862 was £17,048 14s., the expenditure being rather more than £1,000 under the income. In addition to this large income, the bureau received from the Montyon foundation £827, to be applied in the relief of the convalescent poor on their exit from the hospitals. There is, again, a fund, governed by the bureau, in favour of the orphans of parents who fell in the troubles of June 1848. When we add to the wide operations of the bureau, provoked by this large income, the parochial and other charities which exist in the arrondissement, we must come to the conclusion that in this, the poorest quarter of the French metropolis, there is less hunger, and less suffering from cold and disease, than may be found in more than one poor district of London.

In 1862 the bureau distributed bread to the value of £7,700. I find, by examining the bread account, that while the Baron de Rothschild and

M. Péreire, the great capitalists, distributed each 3,000 kilogrammes of bread to the poor of this suffering arrondissement, the bakers gave 22,000 kilogrammes. It is calculated that each poor family on the bureau books received a little more than 52 kilogrammes, or 100 lbs. of bread in the course of last year. In the same time many thousands of meat tickets were distributed. Wood and coals were also distributed in large quantities. Clothes and bedding were given away to this extent, viz :—140 blouses for men, 660 blouses for children, 24 flannel jackets, 122 linen shirts for men, 154 linen chemises for women, 524 counterpanes, 48 flannel waistcoats, 286 woollen waistcoats, 68 petticoats, 139 pairs of trousers, 718 gowns for women, 870 frocks for children, 300 tickings for mattresses, 3,113 pairs of sabots, 205 beds, 2,015 hectolitres of cut oat-straw, 10,692 trusses of straw. The washing of the sheets lent to the poor cost £135. The conveyance of 430 sick persons to the hospitals figures in the budget of the bureau for £47. We now come to the relief given in cash. The sums distributed amounted in all to £4,725 10s. Poor men past their 80th year received £562; men over 70, £1,005; old men who had not yet reached the age prescribed by the laws of the bureau, but who were incapable of work, received £306; £370 were distributed among the blind, and £163 10s. among the paralytic. The bribe offered to poor

parents by the administrators, in order to make them carry their children to the doctor to be vaccinated, overcame the scruples or the idleness of many, since £130 16s. was the sum spent in these bribes in 1862. Special sums of money bequeathed by private individuals for special purposes among the poor, or granted by the central authority of the Assistance Publique, met all kinds of exceptional or peculiar cases of distress. Thus a certain sum was spent in helping some poor creatures to pay their rent, or return to their family, or withdraw some article of necessity from the Mont de Piété. Help to the extent of £180 was afforded in the shape of premiums for apprentices. About £53 were given to the local clergy to buy clothes for the first communion of the children of the poor; and lastly, the sum of £80 was allotted by the mayor of the arrondissement to the retiring description of poor known to the Assistance Publique, as the *pauvres honteux*. These poor of the better class who would rather die than make known their want through all the ordinary channels of relief, are the objects of particular sympathy among the administrators of the bureaux of benevolence. Any case of sudden misfortune that befalls a family of respectable antecedents, any acute suffering brought about by no fault of the sufferer, and borne in silence, may be made the object of special application to the mayor, through an administrator, and the mayor



has the power to make a special grant of money without further form or ceremony.

The medical treatment of the poor of this arrondissement cost £2,481 in 1862. Of this sum more than £1,000 were spent in physic and baths. The number of sick poor who were treated by the bureau doctors in this year amounted to 4,669; of these the visitors report that 2,954 had their own furniture, while 1,715 were living in furnished lodgings. This is a sad report, since the families who live in *garnis*, or furnished rooms, are the most miserable of all the Paris poor. In 1861 there were only 312 families reduced to this last stage of poverty, and in 1862 there were 1,715. The consultations given in 1862 by the doctors in the four houses of relief were 27,435, while their visits to their patients' houses amounted to 14,452. All these operations of doctors, sisters, visitors, commissioners, ladies of charities, and administrators, governed by a committee which sits every week at the bureau of benevolence, are conducted on the most economical principles. I find that all the salaries of the central office do not exceed £456, an economical arrangement for which it would be difficult to find a parallel in London. The most agreeable feature of the charitable operations of this arrondissement, as indeed of the charitable operations of most of the arrondissements of Paris, is the zeal and persevering energy with which

crowds of ladies and gentlemen, who receive no salaries, devote their time to the service of the poor. They are up and at work on winter's mornings at seven o'clock. They submit to strict rules for the general good. They are as strictly required to give in their monthly reports, and keep their accounts in order, as the paid clerks in the bureau. If that great society for the relief of destitution in the English metropolis, which has its handsome offices at Charing Cross, would take the trouble to send a deputation to the Quai Pelletier, they might develop from the operations of M. Husson's subordinates a system of district visiting in London less comtemptible than that which now flickers, feeble and ridiculous, where the London poor are massed. The gentlemen of this great London Association, in the face of all the suffering with which London abounds, have said that the capital they now employ is sufficient, because they cannot find proper machinery for the distribution of more money than they have. In other words, they declare that in London people will give their money but not their time to charity. I am not disposed to accept this statement as a true charge. I maintain that district visiting has failed, or partially failed, in London, because it has been placed exclusively under the patronage of the clergy. If the Assistance Publique of Paris were in the hands of the clergy of Paris, it would not exhibit that vigour and that practical

soundness which are now characteristic of it. Where the hungry are so many, the duty of feeding them, and of helping them to feed themselves, must be left to practical men who understand accounts, who can make bargains, who are in, and of, the world. Let the reader observe that at the back of every lady of charity who enters a poor man's house in Paris, is a well-organized economical administration that has provided in a sensible manner, and with proper guarantees against fraud, for every possible form of distress. She does not leave a pound of sugar and a pinch of tea on the table. She can only recommend the distress she sees to the bureau to which she belongs. If the distress be real and deserve relief, it has nothing to fear from the examination to which it will be subjected. If it be the story of the hypocrite, or the falsehood of the idler or the drunkard, the bureau will give the reply which men brought to want by their vices deserve. The priest may supplement the charitable labour of the bureau of benevolence, but he does not control it; and I cannot help thinking that if the cause of the metropolitan poor were placed in the hands of practical men of the world, like the governors of the Paris Assistance Publique, they would find no want of support in the shape of administrators, charitable commissioners, and ladies of charity. Men and women of all denominations could be made to agree that charity is a duty

inculcated in every church, and that the threshold of the poor is not proper ground for the exhibition of sectarian rancour.

The Bureaus of Benevolence enter on their most active operations towards the close of the year, to provide against the expected rigours of winter. When the winter comes, the indigent population of Paris who are inscribed on the books of the Assistance Publique, or depend for the commonest necessities on some good *œuvre* of their neighbourhood, at once rush to their patrons for existence. Upon the colonnade opposite the Tuileries may be seen white posters that announce the appointment of a committee to wait on the inhabitants of the first arrondissement at their homes, and beg subscriptions for the poor of this, the district in which is the palace of the sovereign. The bureau announces that it has more than 3,000 poor on its books, and that its resources are exhausted. The work this domiciliary visiting committee have undertaken is done in every arrondissement. I see, about Christmas, the same white posters are upon the walls of the Mairie, in the Place St. Sulpice, and upon the Houses of Relief of the poorer districts. Let the reader observe that the money collected in this expeditious manner goes direct to the necessitous. They who give know that no percentage will be levied on their alms for expenses of great offices, and that the applicants for subscriptions are

regularly-appointed receivers, who deduct no commission, and never ask until the money is urgently wanted.

At the House of Relief of the second arrondissement, in the Rue Jussienne; and at that of the third arrondissement, in the picturesquely squalid Rue Vert-Bois, by the Faubourg Montmartre; and in the neighbourhood of the Conservatory of Arts and Sciences, there was evidence of the same timely activity on the part of the local bureau of benevolence, posted by the Primary School, under the tricolour flag. I was on my way to see how the *fourneaux* of the Philanthropic Society were progressing. The Rue Vert-Bois might be sketched as an excellent example of one of the average Paris streets of thirty years ago. Its narrow pavement, and horrible roadway of tumbled stones; its dark little shops, where cheap boots and blouses are sold; the noise of the packing-case makers; the glimpses up one or two courts; the tenth-rate little dirty hotels, with black cut-throat staircases; the inevitable *traiteurs*, with pans of sliced potatoes floating and hissing in boiling lakes of grease, are suggestive points in the perspective, and prepare the mind to accept the presence of a House of Help as very reasonable and appropriate.

The Philanthropic Society appear to act with the authorities of the Assistance Publique in the most friendly and rational spirit. In London, rival

philanthropists ride their respective hobbies, and decline to run them tandem-wise, or in any other way in association. There was a peaceful, amiable appearance about the large House of Relief for the third arrondissement; and as I stood counting the various offices of charity that were performed within its walls, I thought it would do good to many of the rival philanthropists of London, and notably to those great folk who will save only Church of England sufferers—and even those only when their parish clergyman speaks for them—if they could be brought into this little street, opposite this House of Relief, and behold its manifold operations. At the door are notices of the public free lectures and classes that are open gratuitously to the young and to the adult; and above is a notification that soups and haricots (most nutritious food, utterly unknown to the London poor), are distributed within. The penny dish of haricots, albeit not a luxurious meal, serve admirably to stave the cravings of the poor man's stomach, and gives him wholesome sustenance. The dish of haricots is, happily, a popular dish, and is widely patronised. *Figaro* made merry, at one time, at the expense of the poor who get their penny dish of haricots for dinner, on the recommendation of a member of the Philanthropic Society. A little urchin, bearing a ticket for a penny dish, presents a penny also, asking for a double supply, as “mother has got a dinner-party!”

The room to the right of the entrance was like the waiting-room of a hospital. An old lady was cleaning it after the day's business. The *guichets*, or wickets, where medicines, &c. are distributed, were closed for the day; but it was obvious that they were turned to good account, and that many poor stood under the crucifix fixed (above) against the wall, so that where the sisters distributed the prescriptions of the Assistance doctor, and where he held his gratuitous consultations, the Philanthropic Society carried on its useful work. The same cheap and harmonious arrangement existed in the House of Relief of the Rue Jussienne. The good done by the action of the *fourneaux* is particularly shown in some quarters. In the sixth arrondissement, for instance, the committee of the Office of Benevolence appeal to the charity of the inhabitants, on the ground that the price of food is very high, and that there are many families of workmen out of employment in the Luxembourg quarter.

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## CHAPTER IV.

## THE SICK POOR SYSTEM.

SINCE Messrs. Blondel and L. Ser reported to the Assistance Publique authorities of Paris on the hospitals and workhouse infirmaries of London in 1862, many important changes and modifications have been brought about in the treatment of the Paris poor, sick and infirm, and in the management of the hospitals of the City of Boulevards. The improvements are many in Paris. The outdoor sick-relief has been extended and remodelled; the study of our "excessive" ventilation (to use the words of the French authorities) has not been fruitless; the number of hospital beds has been greatly increased\*; and a system of medical statistics has been so successfully established that it has been imitated in Belgium, and will extend to all the medical centres of the Continent.

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\* Increase from 1852 to 1859, 404 beds; from 1859 to 1867, 673 beds; increase in fifteen years, 1,077 beds.



The idea with which M. Armand Husson sent his two commissioners to London fifteen years ago, would have given admirable results before this had it been followed up and applied to the philanthropic and scientific activities of other centres, and been ripened to the establishment of a permanent international medical commission. But the report which MM. Blondel and Ser presented remains an isolated document, little known beyond the regions which the Paris Assistance Publique governs.

Before reviewing the improvements in the Paris hospitals and in the home-treatment of the sick poor, let me note the salient points of difference, to our advantage or disadvantage, which the two French scientific travellers discovered between the hospitals and infirmaries of Paris and London. The present moment is opportune. There is a stir among the Parisians in regard to the means of providing labour, and of raising the funds by which the hospitals and refuges—the *bureaux de bienfaisance* and *maisons de secours*—are supported, that may profoundly modify M. Husson's work, and test it to the utmost. The violent debates which Baron Haussmann's administration of the affairs of Paris towards the end of his reign provoked, tended clearly to a *régime* other than that which gave an individual the power of raising and spending a sum not much under twenty millions sterling, in his own way. By the Haussmann expenditure, which

supplied the working classes conglomerated in Paris with wages to the tune of twelve thousand pounds daily during eighteen years, periods of ominous distress were tided over; and the Assistance Publique was able to cope with the number of the indigent and sick poor. But it became at last pretty clear that the twelve thousand pounds per diem of wages artificially raised for the prevention of *émeutes* would be sensibly diminished, and that therefore the department in the Avenue Victoria might fairly anticipate an increased demand on its resources as near at hand. It was unfortunate that at this moment the tax for the poor, which had, with divers modifications, existed since 1669, should be threatened by the combined hostile action of French theatrical managers and journalists. The origin of the law which taxes amusements for the benefit of those whose only rejoicing is a cessation from pain or hunger is brought forth to heighten its unpopularity. It was not originally instituted in a philanthropic spirit, but was imposed by a bigoted Court in hatred of the author of *Tartuffe*. Hence, according to French managers and journalists, the tax laid on the theatre for the benefit of the poor should be abolished as a bad remnant of the past. The logic of the Paris managers, who have ruined themselves with spectacular excesses, and by compliance with the extortions of actors and singers, does not, as our neighbours have it, jump to the

right. Take the instance of M. Marc Fournier, who was fifteen years the manager of the Porte Saint Martin Theatre. During these fifteen years, it seems, his receipts exceeded fourteen millions of francs, and out of this sum he paid a tax for the hospitals, and refuges, and poor of Paris generally, exceeding one million francs in amount. But herein is no valid argument against this poor tax. A manager who takes a Paris theatre calculates, or should calculate, *with* the tax. It is as much part of his expenditure as his rent ; and surely it is a just and wise tax, for it is levied exclusively on those who are not only able to live, but have a superabundance for amusement. What would the Parisians say if this system of levying a tax upon a luxury, for the benefit of those to whom necessities are luxuries, were suddenly exchanged for ours, and the fifth, thirteenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth arrondissements were to be severally and separately rated for the support of their poor ?

In the most interesting history of the Hôtel Dieu we find numerous instances of that just spirit which claims for the poor from the pockets of the rich ; of which the theatrical poor-tax and the poor-tax on the rich man's grave are remaining examples. The right which the poor have to levy something upon the market dainties of the wealthy dates five hundred years back. It would seem that there was a gentler feeling abroad among the powerful

in the fierce old times, in regard to the utterly destitute, than prevails in this later day of general rights. That which is specially kindly, for instance, in the treatment of the indigent and sick poor of Paris, comes to them from centuries ago: the harsher lines are drawn by modern hands. In France the La Rochefoucauld-Liancourts, the Montyons, Brézins, and Boulards, have kept a kindness grafted on the Assistance system, which was brought into something like order and a code by Count Frochot; so that when we come to anything like a juxtaposition of the manner in which funds for the poor are raised in England and France, to the relief of the indigent and of the sick poor, and to the public sentiments in regard to the destitute—young, aged, and sick,—we are struck with the order and high-mindedness, and the tender heart which purveyed the operations of the Assistance Publique of Paris, and the coarse feeling, the confusion, and consequent inefficiency, which characterise our London operations (viewed generally) for our extraordinarily diffused destitution, our legions of sick paupers, and our lanes and allies of famished and tattered children, left as wild as squirrels in a wood.

The mission of MM. Blondel and Ser was, it may be remembered, provoked by the discussions which took place amongst the medical profession of Paris while the plans for the reconstruction of the

Hôtel Dieu were under consideration, and under the sting of assertions made by high authorities that the hospitals of Paris were perhaps the most detestable medical establishments in Europe. The Lariboisière was the only modern hospital in the French capital. The London hospitals and infirmaries were cited as the examples which should be followed. M. Husson's Commissioners visited nineteen hospitals and four workhouse infirmaries. Their descriptive note on our workhouses shows what a perplexing place an English union is to the orderly, system-loving French mind :—

Workhouse: a kind of mixed establishment, which partakes of the character of a *depôt de mendicité*, a *maison de secours*, the *hôpital*, and the *hospice*.

They were perplexed with the varieties of our hospital and workhouse and private administrations for the benefit of the poor and sick, and they concluded that, although the governors of the French systems for hospitals and asylums might find instructive matters of detail in England, the Assistance of Paris had nothing to fear from a general comparison with either the State or private methods of sick poor relief as practised in England. The radical difference between the English and French systems of relief that struck the French commissioners, at the opening of their labours, was that in England private charity is chiefly directed to establishments for the benefit of the sick, leaving the

relief of the indigent to the parochial rates. They were surprised to find that all the London hospitals and dispensaries were privately supported and separately governed, and that it was by the accumulation of gifts from philanthropic individuals that little dispensaries grew to the proportions of first-class hospitals. The independent conflicting plans and regulations of so many irresponsible private bodies are utterly perplexing to the French mind. The elaborately governed Frenchman cannot understand how establishments so vast and so important in their effects on the indigent population can be left without the limits of our Poor Law control, and, indeed, unconsidered among the public means for coping with our great national misfortune. French and English hospitals have had a common origin. Private benevolence is the corner-stone of them all ; as it is, in France at least, of the Assistance Publique. But the hospitals of Paris, despoiled in many cases of the private property and revenue which belonged to them, have been drawn into the keeping of the State, or rather into municipal keeping. The hospitals of Paris, to take an instance, possess property which is equal to only threetwentieths of their expenditure. In Paris charitable people are not prone to gifts in favour of the sick poor, but rather to works for the benefit of the aged and infirm, the desolate young, and the simply indigent. In short, the private charity of Paris is

directed to the homes of the poor, to the bedside of the sick man lying in his garret, to the acts of the Sister of Charity, rather than the liberality which gives no greater personal trouble than the signing of a cheque. The Parisians, knowing that the chief part of the funds for their great hospitals is derived from the municipal purse, regard them as open establishments on which the sick poor have something like that claim which the English pauper has on his parish. The public mind is therefore at ease as to the means which the unfortunate have of obtaining medical treatment at any time. In the history of French hospitals will be found the names of many munificent donors (the latest in the list is Madame de Lariboisière\*). But their increase under municipal protection, and chiefly by municipal support, tends to remove them more and more every year from the reach of private charity, and to leave more abundant private effort for the comfort of the poor sick at the command of the Assistance Publique.

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\* The gift of this lady was to the extent of £80,000 towards the fine hospital which bears her name.

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## CHAPTER V.

## OUT-DOOR SICK RELIEF.

FRENCH hospitals being all, more or less, State institutions, supported by municipal funds as well as private acts of charity, incur a responsibility towards the public which is not borne by English hospitals. In the same way, the home relief of the sick as well as of the poor, being the operation of a mixed action—viz., that of an administration supplemented by the efforts of charitable ladies and gentlemen,—is uniform, constant, and unattended with those laxities which from time to time provoke the indignation of the English public. Whenever the English Poor Laws are publicly discussed, fifty complaints arise among the administrators and executive officers of the Poor Law, the public that pays, and the public that is relieved. In Paris, disposed as the Opposition in the Corps Législatif was to pick holes in Napoleon's purple, there was no attempt under



his *régime* to attack the Assistance Publique administration. The theatre poor tax has redoubtable enemies; but there are no discontented Poor-law officers; there are no good and bad *arrondissements*; no execrably managed *maisons de secours*; no overworked medical officers; no neglected cases, nor slovenly dispensing, nor conveyance of fever patients in the first cab at hand.

I shall describe a *maison de secours*, in its relation to the poor of a section of an *arrondissement*; to the hospitals, to out-door medical relief, and in its admirable internal economics, conducted by intelligent sisters, who have a mission as well as a wage—Christian charity as well as the means provided by the Assistance Publique. These *maisons de secours*, I may state at once, are so many well-ordered dispensaries, well worthy the attention of those politicians who are anxious to get at something like a sufficient, well-knit Poor-law code. They work in harmony with the distributors of out-door relief on the one hand, and with the hospitals on the other, and under that which is entirely absent from the English system—viz. “constant, intelligent inspection.” Within the Assistance, I find no barristers—nephews of “one of us”—appointed to report on the infirmaries for the aged and the nurseries for orphans. The fitness of the individual for the office is a point which is an imperative necessity to the

French mind ; and it springs from that respect for ability which pervades all classes of Frenchmen, and makes a Nélaton a household name under the eaves of the humblest. He is surgeon and senator ; and applauded because he doffs his embroidered coat to reach the sick man's bed. Shall we see a Lord Chancellor on his death-bed attended by a brother peer M.D. ? The question is at the bottom of much more than the average philosopher can comprehend. All the controversies about Poor-law administration might be resolved into it. How is it that, although it has been shown that 72 per cent. of the pauperism of England proceeds from the neglect or maladministration of the poor sick, they are still neglected or maladministered ? Dr. G. Wallis gave this evidence to a Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1854 ; and yet, fifteen years afterwards, we find that the capacity for mismanagement, for which Gwydyr House is famous, remains concentrated upon the medical departments of the Poor-law administration. The cause of 72 per cent. of your pauperism is untouched. Even in the matter of Mr. Hardy's\* Act the authorities are true to the traditional obstinacy and dunder-headedness of their department ; and the dispensary languishes while the asylum foundations are hastily laid. Yet the dispensary lies at the root of the evil : would help to block the way of the unfor-

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\* Now Lord Cranbrook.

tunate from the sick-bed to the workhouse, and so lessen the 72 per cent. ; while the asylum is but Bicêtre and La Salpêtrière, and the Incurables-Hommes and the Incurables-Femmes over again, with the Dépôt de Mendicité bungled and superadded. These places are retreats for society's utter failures. Victims of our social plan indirectly, if also culpable individually through their vices, the aged and infirm of society, who are helpless and have nothing, command public compassion. Whether this compassion should be expressed in the shape of country asylums is a matter on which, I think, some light will be thrown by the experiences of M. Husson's department. But the importance of advancing to the assistance of the poor man in sickness must be plain to all who have been at the pains of noting how the ranks of the poor are recruited. Protect the aged paupers ; but, above all, so help the young in sickness that they shall not fall into hopeless poverty. In the regulations of the Assistance Publique of Paris, in regard to the sick poor, this primary and fundamental rule of Poor-law economy is kept steadily in view. They fortify, in a remarkable manner, the line of argument and the significance of the array of facts contained in the late address of the President of your Poor-law Medical Officers' Association. These regulations, as they have been lately amended, I am enabled, through the courtesy of the Directeur-Général, to

lay before the reader. I shall deal first with the out-door relief of the sick poor.

The latest report issued from the Avenue Victoria describes the out-door relief of the Paris sick poor during 1865-6-7, or the sixth, seventh, and eighth years during which the reorganized system has been in operation. Relief to the sick, the Directeur-Général states, is liberally applied throughout the capital, not only to the indigent population, but also to those whom forced cessation from work, or slack time, has thrown into temporary distress. The poor who prefer home treatment to removal to the hospital are encouraged in this preference; which denotes a resolve to avoid the breaking up of the *ménage* and the decline from independence to State relief. We shall see presently how, on the other hand, the Assistance deals with the sick in the hospitals, who will occasionally lay deep plans for getting into one of the sick asylums for life, while their friends are perfectly able to maintain them. The desirability of discouraging recourse to the hospital, and of helping the poor to keep the home together, is the mainspring of all the recent Assistance reforms. Later on, a new regulation was drawn up for a home midwifery service, in order to discourage mothers from the old bad habit of being confined in the hospital. Its success was steady. In 1865-6-7, more than 23,000 women were attended in their own homes by the

midwives of the Bureaux de Bienfaisance—namely, 7,450 in 1865, 7,588 in 1866, and 8,744 in 1867. In this latter year 6,506 of the mothers attended at home received relief as well as attendance, more than half the relief being in the shape of bed and baby linen. Midwives have always been attached to the Bureaux de Bienfaisance; but until the recent reforms came into operation they had few patients. It has been deemed radically economical to devote a special sum of money (£6,000) annually to the encouragement of midwifery cases at home by extra help. The Assistance gains in the end. The home of the necessitous mother is kept together. The midwife receives 8 francs for each case. When the mother is in a position requiring relief, the bureau of her quarter is bound to extend it to her to the amount of at least 12 francs. The value of this timely help is forcibly shown in a table, which sets forth that two-thirds of the women who have recourse to the midwife of their bureau are only temporarily necessitous. When this table is compared with the figures of the general sick poor who have recourse to the Assistance medical staff, it will be perceived that among the working poor the period of the wife's confinement is specially severe. 44 per cent. of the general sick poor who apply to the Bureaux are inscribed on the books of the Assistance as paupers. Another table justifies the reforms made by the Assistance. About

85 per cent. of the poor women who are gratuitously helped through their hour of trial have their own furniture—a sure mark of good conduct, and honourable effort to keep clear of State relief and the ultimate poor-asylum. The needlewomen of Paris form the great majority of applicants; and in the latest statistics the single mothers attended amount to one-fifth of the total.

It is proved that the women who are confined at home are morally and physically superior to those who resort to the hospital; and that the poorest home, where the mother is alone with her child, is safer than the best regulated hospital. The figures of the home attendances of the Bureaux midwives are interesting. In 1867, of 8,744 women confined, five died within the nine days; only 327 required medical treatment for the results of their confinement; 24 died; 23 were conveyed to the hospital; and 5 died in hospital. The average cost to the Assistance of each case is a fraction under 21 francs. The number of midwives (whose services are supplemented by the Bureaux doctors when necessary) in the pay of the Assistance is 111, making the average number of cases 78 each; and the fees nearly £25.

In 1867, the number of the poor sick attended in their homes reached 66,486, or 3·09 of the population. Of these, 74·49 were discharged cured. The average duration of sickness was fourteen days.

In this year the Bureaux medical attendants gave 355,089 consultations, showing an increase of 31,103 consultations in three years. The average cost per patient is set forth at a fraction under  $5\frac{1}{2}$  francs.

Summing up the effects of the liberal extention of the home treatment of the sick poor, M. Husson declared that they were most satisfactory and encouraging; and would nerve the Assistance to greater efforts towards the perfection of a plan, the germ of which was the idea of keeping poor working families off the Bureaux books, by helping them freely in that most critical hour in the lives of those who live by labour—the hour of sickness, when the expenses are suddenly increased, while the revenue is sensibly diminished or completely stopped. The best proof of the wisdom of the new regulation is, that the majority of the cases treated by the Assistance doctors are those of honest work-folk who are strangers to the taste of Assistance bread. The patients relieved are parted into two categories—the *indigents* and the *nécessiteux*; the former being, of course, the chronic paupers. In 1867 the sick *indigents* who were attended amounted to 24,987; and the *nécessiteux*, many of whom might have lapsed into chronic pauperism but for this timely help, to 30,647. The value of this fact to a poor-administrator of M. Husson's experience and sagacity is not lost. These sick

*nécessiteux*, who have been tided through a difficult passage of their lives, remain independent citizens. Many, had they not been enabled to keep home together, would now be on the books of a bureau; and, once on those books, a family is broken up for many a long year.

The Assistance has a classification of the poor which is excellent. The recipients of relief are divided into those who have their own furniture, and those who have neither bed nor table of their own. The last are a hopeless class. They comprehend the vagabonds and ne'er-do-weels; the drunken and dissolute; the shiftless, unskilful workers; the unclassed who have fallen from various altitudes of the social ladder by the hundred accidents which befall men and women in a complicated and crowded artificial life like that which is encompassed by Louis Phillipe's fortifications. When the unfurnished class of *indigents* are on the increase, trade is bad, life is hard, and misery is penetrating into new places. In 1867 the number of sick poor without furniture, and dwelling in the *garnis* of the outlying parts of Paris, increased. In the 19th arrondissement (a Parisian equivalent for Bethnal Green) the poor without chattels were more numerous than the poor with their own beds. The 20th arrondissement, to which the nomadic population of the city and the expropriated poor tend, shows the same mark of deep distress. The



increase of the poorest class has been steady during the last three years on which reports have been issued. In 1865 the poor living in unfurnished rooms were 85·28 per cent.; and in 1867 they were but 81·59 per cent. The indigent population of Paris is composed of common labourers, porters, shoe-makers, bricklayers, washerwomen, servants, and needlewomen. The labour to which the unskilled and unclassed have recourse is that, of course, which yields the lowest wage, and just maintains the animal functions. The least trade depression casts crowds of these dwellers on the verge of pauperism over the precipice. The few sticks of furniture vanish, and the man is naked as he was born; in a slack labour-market, with only untutored hands to offer in it. When the depression continues and deepens, the lower class of skilled artisans falls to the *garni*. The increase of furnitureless poor is an unerring sign of the spread of absolute pauperism.

The sick poor of Paris are a fraction over 3 per cent. of the inhabitants within the twenty arrondissements. Of the 51,833 who were visited by Assistance doctors in 1867, 20,413 were discharged convalescent, 18,201 were sent as out-patients to the *maison de secours* of their quarter, 1,011 were incurable (subjects for one of the asylums), 3,508 were conveyed to the hospitals, 3,545 were marked as refused for various reasons, and 5,155 died.

The decrease in the average of deaths between 1865 and 1867 is from 10·36 per cent. to 9·95 ; but the cholera of 1865 and 1866 must be taken into consideration. The average of deaths amongst the sick poor inscribed on the Assistance books as treated at home from 1854, the date when this service was first recognized, is interesting :—

|           | Patients.  | Deaths.   | Per-centage. |
|-----------|------------|-----------|--------------|
| 1854 . .  | 28,076 . . | 2,722 . . | 9·65         |
| 1855 . .  | 29,483 . . | 2,393 . . | 8·12         |
| 1856 . .  | 30,346 . . | 2,248 . . | 7·41         |
| 1857 . .  | 29,669 . . | 2,183 . . | 7·36         |
| 1858 . .  | 27,724 . . | 2,033 . . | 7·33         |
| 1859 . .  | 25,299 . . | 2,074 . . | 8·20         |
| 1860 . .  | 33,890 . . | 2,888 . . | 8·52         |
| 1861 . .  | 44,191 . . | 3,745 . . | 8·47         |
| 1862 . .  | 47,102 . . | 3,723 . . | 7·91         |
| 1863 . .  | 50,047 . . | 4,078 . . | 8·15         |
| 1864 . .  | 52,246 . . | 4,476 . . | 8·58         |
| 1865* . . | 50,539 . . | 5,238 . . | 10·36        |
| 1866* . . | 52,756 . . | 5,441 . . | 10·31        |
| 1867 . .  | 51,833 . . | 5,155 . . | 9·95         |

Again, in the Assistance tables the sick poor list is broken up into the number of days of illness. The days of sickness amongst the poor which the Bureaux doctors directed in 1865 were 834,734 ; in 1866, 797,116 ; and in 1867, 795,269. M. Husson reckons that these days of sickness, treated at home, saved 2,287 hospital beds in 1865, 2,184 in 1866, and 2,179 in 1867. The average duration

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\* The cholera years.

of sickness was highest in 1865, and lowest in 1866: in the former year it was 15·7 days; and in the latter year 14·5 days.

We now come to the work of the medical staff. In 1865 there were 202 doctors on the home-treatment service, 204 in 1866, and 205 in 1867. Of these, 8 were exclusively engaged in receiving out-patients in the various *maisons de secours*. In 1865 the average of patients for each doctor was 274, 281 in 1866, and 277 in 1867. The figures are twisted many ways, in order to show the working of the system by every available light. In 1865, 203,393 Assistance doctors' home visits were made; in 1866, 199,577; and in 1867, 189,093. In 1865 the average number of visits made by each medical man was 1048·42; in 1866, 1018·25; and in 1867, 959·86. We have even a fractional *aperçu* of the average daily work of the doctors. In 1865 each doctor paid 2·87 daily visits; in 1866, 2·79 visits; and in 1867, 2·63 visits. The medical attention paid to each sick person is stated at three visits and the forty-sixth part of one!

The consultations in the *maison de secours* have increased. This increase has diminished the home treatment, and consequently effected a saving. In 1865 the number of consultations at the *maisons de secours* in each *arrondissement* was 16,209; and in each *maison de secours* 5,790. In 1866 the figures were 16,705 for the *arrondissement*, and

5,968 for each *maison de secours* ; in 1867 the arrondissement consultations had reached an average of 17,754, and the *maison de secours* average was 6,340. As the Central Board of the Assistance distributes money to each arrondissement just in proportion to the number of paupers on its books, so it regulates the staff of medical officers by the number of the sick poor. For instance, in the flourishing second arrondissement there were only 625 sick poor cases in 1867. These were attended by six doctors. Each doctor on an average attended 104 patients in the year, and made 597 visits.

The medical staff is not so exactly disposed as to give every Assistance doctor the same work ; but the balance is kept roughly, so that none are overworked. In the eleventh arrondissement I find the medical staff strongest although the sick poor list is lower than that of the twentieth and nineteenth. The eleventh arrondissement employs thirteen doctors in the home treatment of the sick poor, and has three medical men exclusively occupied with consultations at *maisons de secours* ; the fourth arrondissement has fourteen doctors and one medical officer for consultations ; while the twentieth arrondissement has just twelve doctors, although its sick list reached 6,482 in 1867, as against the 4,970 of the eleventh. In the twentieth arrondissement the average of visits paid in the year by each medical officer was 1,739, and in the

eleventh only 1,250, while the averages were 1,379 in the tenth, and 1,311 in the fourteenth. The lowest average of medical work is in the third arrondissement, where the number of each doctor's visits is as low as 378. In the hardest-worked arrondissement, the visits do not exceed five a day, while in the lightest they are a fraction over one. By intelligent and steady distribution of work, nearly 200,000 attendances are given by the Assistance in the houses of the indigent or necessitous, without risking the neglect of a single patient through the overwork of the medical attendant. The medical payments are regulated by the visits paid. In the eleventh arrondissement, the medical fees for out-door relief amounted to 12,800 francs (£512), while the medical staff of the fourth received only 8,925 francs (£357). The medical service of the heaviest (twentieth) arrondissement shows the lowest remuneration in proportion to the work done, being only 12,000 francs (£480). On the other hand, the heavy arrondissement spends most in the help the sick poor most require,—gratuitous diet, bedding, and baths. Taking the totals of expenditure on the home treatment of the sick poor, we find the largest in the twentieth arrondissement—viz., 69,180 francs (£2,767 4s.), and the lowest, not in the account of the second, but in the seventeenth arrondissement—viz., 18,329 francs (£773 3s.). But there are striking contrasts

among the details. The money relief given to the 6,000 sick persons of the twentieth arrondissement (I am treating always of 1867, the last return made) amounted to 2,970 francs (£128 16s.) only; while the sum given to the 4,900 sick of the eleventh arrondissement was 6,395 francs (£265 16s.); to the 5,000 of the nineteenth arrondissement, 7,600 francs (£304); and to the 791 sick of the ninth, the largest sum in the table—viz., 9,121 francs (£364 16s.). In some arrondissements, where the medical attendances are comparatively few, as in the fourth, the salaries for the sisters who are employed in the service of the sick, and the sick room visitors (who follow in the wake of the doctor, and report the time, &c., of his visit) are high. In the fourth arrondissement (a lighter one than the fifth, eleventh, thirteenth, or twentieth), the sisters receive 2,400 francs (£88); and in the twentieth, 1,800 francs (£56); but the salaries for paid visitors exceed in this arrondissement those in any other.

The cost of each patient for medicines is reckoned at 5 fr. 45 c. (4s. 4d.); for help in money, food, or clothes, a fraction under 4s.: and the total cost per patient is set down at 14 fr. 53 c. (11s. 8d.).

The general results are, I repeat, most satisfactory to the minds of the Central Committee of the Assistance Publique, who control the application

of the poor laws to the poor of Paris. M. Husson, in closing his report on the new element in his administration, declared that it was a good one, for it met the evil half-way. Its special advantage is that it tends to prevent the momentarily necessitous from falling into the slough of pauperism, out of which very few scramble when they have once slipped into it.

Reference to some of the Central Committee's regulations, under which a Bureau de Bienfaisance conducts out-door relief, is necessary in order to put the reader in possession of the dominant points of the system. The medical officers attached to the Bureaux de Bienfaisance of each arrondissement are elected at a meeting of the members of the Bureau by ballot, and with the forms which govern the election of administrators, commissioners, or ladies of charity, who, albeit unpaid servants of the poor, are held strictly responsible for the fulfilment of their duties to the letter. Physicians, surgeons, and midwives are finally appointed by the Prefect of the Seine, from a triple list of names elected by the Bureau. The medical officers must reside within that part of the arrondissement to which they have to attend.\* A change of residence

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\*The arrondissement is parted into four quarters, and these are each subdivided into three divisions. There is an administration for each division.

beyond the limits of their trust without permission is regarded as an act of resignation. No medical officer can be an administrator of a Bureau, the Bureau being a judicial body over him. On the other hand, the members of a Bureau (of whom the mayor of the arrondissement is the president *ex officio*) have not the authority to dismiss a medical officer, or even to suspend him without a decree signed by the Prefect of the Seine. His dismissal is the act of the Minister of the Interior, on the recommendation of the Bureau to which he belongs, or of the Directeur-Général. He assists at the annual meeting of the administrators and commissioners of his Bureau; when a report to the Directeur Général is prepared, including any observations he, or any other member of the meeting, may choose to make. Every member of the Assistance staff, from the chief to the humblest midwife, ranks as a public servant, and is eligible for promotion to the Legion of Honour, for services done to the poor.

It is the duty of the Bureau doctor to attend poor patients in their homes, and to dress wounds, limbs, &c., when the sisters of charity are unable from any cause to take this part of the medical service. But the rule is that the Bureau sister supplements the service of the doctor, nurses the pauper patient, prepares his medicine, and watches over his diet.



In each Bureau a register of the sick of the arrondissement is regularly posted, each sick person being watched over—1st, by the administrator of his division ; 2nd, by the doctor ; 3rd, by the sister of charity. The secretary-treasurer (the responsible person to the central authority) is bound to exact the regular exercise of the round of duties devolving on the administrator, the doctor, and the sister of charity, under the watchful eye of the inspectors of the central body. Moreover, there is the Bureau visitor, who visits every patient on the list, and reports on his state to the Sick Commission of the Bureau, consisting of the president, or a vice-president, an administrator, a doctor, a commissioner, and the secretary-treasurer. This Commission pronounces the convalescence of a patient, orders extraordinary relief, medicines, &c., or deals with cases of chronic disease which belong to the asylums, or forwards sick poor to the convalescent asylums of Vincennes or the Vesinet. I should remark here that the medicines used for the poor all proceed from the Central Pharmacy of the city, and all the clothing, bandages, crutches, &c., from the Central Magazine. The central provision establishments for the sick poor deserve a separate chapter.

The Bureau machinery is cumbersome ; but it is valuable in this, that every sick or valid person relieved comes directly under the eye of the Bureau.

The relief is carried to the pauper home. A commissioner or lady of charity goes into the garret, sees the sick wife or husband and famished children, delivers the food or clothing warrant, and examines all the just requirements of the case. Even loans are made to sick nursing mothers, and to parents whose children are ill, and to convalescents in distress. The poor children who attend the free schools receive reward and encouragement in the sensible shapes of serviceable *blouses* and frocks, and payments for their apprenticeship. Poor apprentices are governed by a separate committee, composed of members of the Bureau, including visitors, who watch the children where they are employed. The poor apprenticeship system of the Assistance deserves, in brief, the attention of English Poor Law authorities. The burial of the poor is admirably organized ; but the subject comes within the general one of central administrations.

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## CHAPTER VI.

## HOSPITAL ADMISSIONS AND DISMISSALS.

INCIDENTS are now and then described in the Paris papers which dispose of the popular idea that the hospital ward is as open to all as the highway. There are difficulties ; for we have the story of a poor sick *concierge* carried half round Paris from hospital to hospital, and finally borne back to the miserable home in despair. The sick *concierge* had one advantage over the sick London pauper however ; he was carried in a comfortable litter, for litters are always held in readiness in the *maisons de secours*. When a poor sick person is to be removed from home to the hospital, men from the *maison de secours* of his quarter repair to the sick bed, and effect the removal upon a decently tented litter ; so that if the case be a grave one, and the least disturbance of the patient to be avoided, he is not distressed in the least ; bed and patient are borne away together. Strangers in Paris must

have often observed melancholy processions of poor relatives following a litter borne by two hospital, or Assistance men, threading their way along the crowded boulevards, or through the narrow streets that only a few years ago led to the old Hôtel Dieu. Sometimes sisters of charity—skilled, zealous nurses of the poor—are in the wake of the litter.

I have described the out-door sick relief. Let me now touch upon the new regulations which M. Husson issued in April, 1867, for the admission of patients to the Paris hospitals, and for their discharge. In his address to the governors of the hospitals the Director recounts how he has been often under the necessity of dwelling on the precautions which are requisite in the admission and discharge of patients; and one or two recent incidents of improper rejection of applicants prove that either the regulations are not perfect yet, or that they are misunderstood.

The basis of all the laws for the admission of patients to French hospitals is contained in a ministerial circular which was issued as far back as June 31st, 1840. By the terms of this circular, the administrator on duty is responsible for the admission of poor patients, "guiding himself as far as possible by the advice of the doctor on duty." The director of the Assistance, and his representative directors located in the hospitals, are responsible for the admission of patients; the doctors are

advisers simply. Urgent cases are under a special law, the hospitals being divided into general and special establishments. The directors are bound to take care that even the urgent cases are remitted to their proper hospital. Patients who apply for admission to a hospital must, when their case is not urgent, direct their application to the central office of the Assistance. If the case of an applicant be such that his admission to some establishment is urgent, and there is no room in his proper hospital, he is sent to the nearest establishment, provided always that his transfer and the necessary delay in treatment will not prejudice his case. When the urgency of the case is evident, and the patient requires immediate treatment, and has been sent from a first hospital for want of room in it, he can on no account be refused at the second. The authorities are bound, at any inconvenience, to provide a bed and attendance for him. In cases of accident, the hospital must provide for the immediate relief of the case presented, whatever its condition may be. Beds must be rigged up in any corner if all the wards be full. In short, I repeat, the accident cases must be admitted to the nearest hospital, whether it be a general or special establishment, or whether the sufferer be old or young. As the law says, regulations and classifications disappear before the unfortunate exigencies of humanity.

Before 1856, the commissaries of police often threw the administrators of an hospital into confusion by sending sick persons, or persons feigning sickness, with orders that they should be instantly admitted. In this way the regulations of the Assistance were broken through, and very often decrepit men and women or false invalids—cases for the Hospice or the Dépôt de Mendicité—were foisted upon the hospital authorities. A circular of the prefect of police put an end to this conflict of authority in October 1856, and thenceforth the cases sent to the hospital by the police were subjected like any others to the regulations of the Assistance. In the case of old or decrepit people, the hospital authorities are bound to direct the friends of the sufferer in the forms necessary to his admission to the asylum open to his case. The function of the police commissary, when he knows that there is a case of dire distress or sickness in his quarter, is to report it to the director of the Assistance that it may be at once attended to. In consequence of this harmonious action of the police with the Assistance authorities, it is impossible that cases of death upon bare boards, or from neglect of parish officers, should occur in Paris. When I asked M. Husson whether death from starvation or death from medical or Assistance neglect were possible within his jurisdiction, he answered that it could occur only through the neglect, the almost

inconceivable neglect, of friends and neighbours. Any person taken ill in the street must be admitted, if the case requires it, into a bed in a hospital, and the police are bound to carry the stricken person thither.

In a circular, M. Husson draws the special attention of hospital doctors and administrators to the strict line of duty which they are bound to observe in all cases of illness in the public streets, or of accidents. He warns them by two cases which had lately occurred. Two men were conveyed by the police to two hospitals, and were both examined and rejected. One died almost immediately afterwards in a guard-house, and the other on his way to another hospital. M. Husson, while admitting that in each case the strict form of an examination had been complied with, suggests, and suggests as a warning for the future, that a sufficiently careful and complete diagnosis had not been made. And he requests that in similarly urgent cases the hospital authorities should be a little more patient, and keep the case, if only for a few hours, to watch it. "If," he says, humanely, "there should be no vacant bed in the hospital, put the sufferer in one of the consultation rooms for the moment." And here I find again evidence of that general spirit of kindness which tempers every department and every establishment of the Assistance—a spirit which seems to be exactly in unison

with that which shone through all the enlightened efforts, for the consolation and reclamation of the poor, made by the late Count Rumford. In his essay on "Fundamental Principles of Establishments for the Poor," he observes, that it appears "no body of laws, however wisely framed, can, in any country, effectually provide for the relief of the poor without the voluntary assistance of individuals; for though taxes may be levied by authority of the laws, for the support of the poor, as well to reclaim the vicious as to comfort and encourage the despondent, . . . those demonstrations of concern which are always so great a consolation to persons in distress . . . cannot be *commanded by force*. On the contrary, every attempt to use *force*, in such cases, seldom fails to produce consequences directly contrary to those intended." The Count insists throughout that effectual relief for the distresses of the poor, and the sovereign remedy for the numerous evils to society which arise from the prevalence of mendicity, indolence, poverty, and misery, among the lower classes, must be derived from the charitable and voluntary exertions of individuals. And these must be educated—of pure morals and of tender heart. But this theme is foreign to my present purpose; or I might show how, while we in England have utterly failed in reclaiming the tramp and the mendicant, because of the bad spirit of our laws on vagabondage, and of the hostile and



cruel temper in which an exclusive society has dealt with those who are unfortunate rather than vicious, or at worst are only vicious because they have been unfortunate,—the kindlier, and at the same time the more rational, code which sways mendicancy in France has almost as effectually cleared its streets and roads from hereditary vagabonds as Count Rumford swept the streets of Munich some seventy years ago. But before such a change shall come in England, a political reform that will advance men who know the poor to the government of the poor remains to be brought about.

A special rule is framed for the treatment of the epileptic and consumptive. The hospital administrator is directed, in the case of an epileptic fit, to receive the patient with the greatest care, to place him in a convenient room, and put a nurse to watch over him ; and under no pretext to let him leave the hospital before he has so far recovered as to be able to reach his home in safety. Consumptive patients are admitted to the hospital only so long as there is hope that medical treatment may be efficacious ; but the ordinary cases are treated by the Assistance doctors in the patient's own home. Should a poor creature in the last stage of consumption, without proper food or fuel or lodging, be presented at the hospital gates, the authorities are bound to throw them open ; for, where there is no hope of recovery, remains the

Christian duty, and a bed must be found and everything afforded that can give ease to the last moments of the sufferer.

The case of a sick man from the country, who applies at a Paris hospital, is specially provided for. The case is often that of an individual who has travelled purposely from his own province to the capital to throw himself as a charge upon the Paris Assistance. If he is really sick and requires medical treatment, he is admitted ; while the police adopt measures to have him returned to the department and commune to which he belongs. It has been found necessary to oppose with rigour the tendency of country patients to get to the Paris hospitals, since these hospitals are constructed to supply beds only to the sick poor resident in the capital. The same remark applies to the asylums, and to the aged and infirm. In special cases, where it is deemed necessary by the departmental or communal authorities to send a patient to Paris, the authorities of his locality are bound to defray the cost of his carriage and the cost of the Paris hospital bed ; the latter being about two francs per diem. The patient himself is bound to defray this expense when he is able.

The regulation, with regard to strangers within the gates of Paris, is dictated in terms that do honour to that administrator whose heart and head are alike admirable. When a stranger falls

ill in Paris, and the illness is serious, requiring immediate or prolonged treatment, M. Husson requires that they should be admitted to hospital comforts in conformity with the law of the 7th of August 1851. The usual course is to communicate with the representative of their nation—with their ambassador or consul,—who is requested to discharge the very moderate hospital fees. But when the case is an exceptional one, or of particular interest from a scientific point of view, or, again, when the predicament of the patient is one specially worthy of sympathy, the Assistance accords an unconditional admission. M. Husson remarks, proudly : “The hospitals of Paris have always willingly paid a heavy tribute to science and to humanity by receiving and treating at great cost patients who had claims elsewhere, and none upon them ; and they will never abandon this mission, although it entails an important annual sacrifice.”

Remark, I pray, with how much care the director provides against anything like unpleasant or hostile meetings between police agents and hospital porters or doorkeepers. These functionaries are directed to receive every application from police commissaries with politeness—with “*une bonne volonté marquée*.” In cases of controversy as to the admissibility of the patient presented after the preliminary examination by the house-student on service, the administrator can still admit the case, and afford

any temporary relief he may deem necessary, even when the house-surgeon refuses to certify for it.

The foregoing are the regulations for the admission of patients to the Paris hospitals. Let us now glance at the regulations which govern the discharge of patients, or their transfer to asylums. Of course the mass of patients are simply discharged on a certificate of convalescence signed by the physician or surgeon on duty. But there is a very important and at the same time troublesome class of patients—namely, the infirm: those poor creatures who are incapacitated by chronic disease, or crippled. These are the patients, these and the aged, for whom the Salpêtrière (for women) and the Bicêtre (for men)—the *Incurables Hommes* and the *Incurables Femmes*—are destined. The comfort of these retreats for the poor, aged, and infirm is naturally much coveted; and, as naturally, intrigues are set up to gain admission. Infirm people will gain admission to a hospital, by a clandestine procedure, for the cure of some passing ailment. Once in the hospital, it seems they will go the length of giving up their room and selling their furniture, even by the agency of their own children who are capable of supporting them, so that they may appear to be homeless as well as helpless; and so, on their recovery from their passing ailment, obtain admission to an asylum over the heads of more deserving applicants. The

Assistance authorities have done their utmost to confound the authors of these little plots. A careful inquiry is made into the position of the relatives of the infirm patient who has been or is about to be discharged from the hospital. When the relatives are able to support their infirm member, they are requested to do so. Should they refuse, the poor creature is still dismissed from the hospital. The hospital administrator is ordered to have the discharged patient conveyed home, accompanied by a hospital servant or nurse chosen for the purpose on account of his or her conciliatory manners and tact. Should the relatives peremptorily refuse to receive the patient, and be deaf to the remonstrance of the hospital attendant, the patient is carried back; for the new instructions include this sentence:—“Under no circumstances whatever, the ingratitude of children, nor the indifference of kindred, may an infirm person be abandoned at his closed door, or even that of his own children, who owe him protection. Impress this fundamental rule on your agents.” The police as well as the hospital authorities insist on the reception of the infirm patient at his home, and at the same time the Assistance authorities make the minutest inquiries into the circumstances of the family, and hasten the infirm member’s admission to an asylum, where the burden of his maintenance at home appears to be intolerable.

The hospital administrator is requested to pay special attention to consumptive patients. They are not to be got rid of hastily to make room for other patients ; and when they are approaching their end, or their weakness is so great that it can be best assuaged at the hospital, they may on no account be moved. These general regulations are addressed by the director of the Assistance Publique to the heads of the Paris hospitals in a circular, which these heads are instructed to submit to the entire hospital *personnel*, so that the servants of all degrees may act harmoniously in the spirit of them ; and the director adds that he will be always at hand and watchful to see that they are thoroughly carried out.

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## CHAPTER VII.

THE CENTRAL HOSPITAL, ASYLUM, AND OUT-DOOR  
RELIEF STORES.

COUNT RUMFORD, writing in 1796 of "Fundamental Principles of Establishments for the Poor," observed: "However large a city may be, in which an establishment for the Poor is to be formed, I am clearly of opinion that there should be but *one establishment*—with *one* committee for the general management of all its affairs, and *one* treasurer. This unity appears essentially necessary, not only because, when all the parts tend to one common centre, and act in union to the same end, under one direction, they are less liable to be impeded in their operations, or disordered by collisions, but also on account of *the very* unequal distribution of wealth, as well as of misery and poverty, in the different districts of the same town." The Count divides his city into sections and sub-sections; subordinating the minor bodies gradually to the

common centre of authority, exactly on the plan of the Assistance Publique of France. The fidelity with which the French have followed the principles laid down by our adventurous and energetic countryman is marked especially in the organization of the various central establishments, whence the hospitals, asylums, and arrondissement bureaux are supplied with the necessaries which are distributed among the sick and poor. There is a Central Bakery, a Central Wine Dépôt, a Central Butchery, a Central Pharmacy, and then there is the great Central Magazine—a vast establishment which has been lately constructed near the old Salpêtrière, and remains to be perfected by a central Buanderie, or laundry.

Let us glance at the uses and manner of government of these institutions, which have been established for the sake of order and economy. The Central Bakery of the Assistance Publique of Paris is housed in the old Hôtel Scipion. In this establishment all the bread for consumption in the hospitals and asylums, and for distribution to the poor by the Bureaux de Bienfaisance, is made and baked. It is interesting to note how the Assistance authorities have watchfully taken advantage of every improvement by machinery in the manufacture of bread. So far back as 1853 the bread was made by steam machinery; in 1856, in order to discover whether it was not possible to produce bread at a



less price than that of Parisian bakers, the Prefect of the Seine installed a commission, the result of which was that the *boulangerie* bought corn instead of flour. With their own mill as well as their own bakery, all conducted on a vast and economical scale, the municipal bread-makers found that they could produce the first necessary of the poor cheaper than even the scale established by the Government to meet times of dearness. In presence of this fact it was decided that the Boulangerie Centrale should, in the first place, supply all the clients of the Assistance Publique; and, in the second place, that its surplus bread—that is, the quantity the establishment could make in excess of the Assistance demand—should be offered at the cost price in the public markets for the benefit of the poorest of the working population. The example of the Boulangerie Centrale showed, at any rate, that, in a time of excessive dearness, a bakery powerful enough to produce from 20,000 to 25,000 kilogrammes of bread daily (about 45,000 lb.), could undersell even the town bakers, whose tariff was supplemented by the Government bakers' bank. The Hôtel Scipion became the centre of many experiments towards the perfection of bread-making.

The scientific investigations and ingenious processes, first of M. Mège-Mouriès, and afterwards of M. Salome, late director of the bakery, have ended

in the production of the most nutritive as well as the most economical bread. The cheapness and superior quality of the Assistance bread are so far beyond dispute that it is welcomed in establishments that are independent of the control of M. Husson. Many private charities provide themselves from the central bakery ; there are dépôts for the sale of this bread in the town markets ; it is the bread which the pupils of the Rollin and Chaptal colleges consume ; it is eaten by the Pompiers and by the Garde Municipale ; and it is provided in the winter economical kitchens which are dotted about Paris. The Scipion bread is, in short, in high favour by reason of its abundant nutritive qualities and its cheapness. Now, this bread is produced at a profit, calculated at an average of three centimes per kilogramme—say, roughly, at one halfpenny profit on a 4 lb. loaf. This is not much. The profit might be increased if, in the first place, this bread, which is sold at the rate of the cheapest, were not really a fancy bread ; and if, again, it were measured by the town bakers' nominal weight, instead of the real weight.

M. Husson, in a Report, assures the municipal authorities that the Scipion bread would be even cheaper than it is if the flour-mill had water power instead of steam power produced with very expensive fuel. Scipion bread, he adds, is an unalloyed wheat bread of the first quality ; whilst

Paris bakers mix bean-flour, or flours of inferior quality, even maize-flour and potatoes, with their loaves. It is with justifiable pride that the Director describes the Scipion bakery, not only as a central establishment which provides the cheapest and best bread to the sick and poor, but as a scientific school for bakers, in which every experiment for cheapening the staff of life, and improving it, has a hearty welcome and a generous trial.

In 1853 a Central Market Administration was organized for supplying all the Assistance establishments of the city with fresh food brought from the country, as vegetables, &c., at wholesale prices. Through the agency of this administration, which has succeeded admirably, the hospitals and asylums are supplied every morning with their vegetable diet in the best condition. The marketing for the poor conducted in the Halles, as I have said, at wholesale rates, is to the extent of more than £54,000 annually.

We now turn to the Central Wine-cellar of the poor. The extent of it may be gathered by the few salient points of the recent reports on its operations. Within the year, 2,150,196 litres of wine were distributed to the hospitals and asylums, at a cost of 1,216,084 fr. The wine for the sick and aged poor costs a fraction over 62 c. within the *octroi* gates, and a fraction over 43 c. without the gates. For even the wine and meat of the poor

pay the hateful *octroi* duty at the city gates—the Assistance wine to the extent of 362,300 fr.

The operations of the Central Butchery for the poor are extensive. About 1,500,000 kilogrammes—say 3,000,000 lb.—of meat are furnished annually, at the average cost of 1 fr. 20 c. the kilogramme—about 6d. per lb., nearly a penny of this price being *octroi* duty.

The Central Pharmacy distributes drugs &c. to the hospitals and asylums, the *maisons de secours*, &c., to the value of £44,000 yearly; by far the greater proportion, of course, going to the hospitals. Provisions foreign to their main character are kept at some of the central establishments. For instance, the oil and candles for the whole Assistance service are warehoused at the Hôtel Scipion, while soap, soda, &c., required for the Assistance washing, are stored both at the Hôtel Scipion and at the Central Pharmacy.

But the vast Magasin Central, constructed on the Boulevard de l'Hôpital, brought complete order into the economical warehousing system of the Paris Assistance Publique.

The Magasin Central was built with that regard for orderly division and sub-division which characterises every French public administration. It is the one immense storehouse from which all the hospitals and asylums and Bureaux de Bien-faisance are supplied with all needful materials,

except bread and meat and wine ; even the market administration is within its comprehensive jurisdiction. The old Buanderie of the Salpêtrière is centralised. And even the old women's work, which makes so striking a scene in the ancient Salpêtrière—namely, the repairing and making of hospital linen, bandages, &c.—has been got under the hand of the chief of the Magasin Central. This work has proved a boon to the old women ; for it gives them easy employment, and yields them a trifle of money. On the other hand, it has proved a public economy.

This Magasin Central, as M. Husson observed in one of his Reports on the progresses and improvements in his department, embraces all the sources of supply for the material wants of the Assistance, and it has proved a precious instrument of thorough control and of economy. While its service has lessened the labour of the managers of the hospitals and asylums by relieving them from all the anxieties of supplies drawn from various quarters, it has simplified the work of the Assistance central authorities ; and simplification in administration is always a progress towards a saving one.

Let us now enter the great Magasin, the approach to which has more the aspect of a military centre than of a city's store for the supply of its poor. The officials at the gates are of strictly military

appearance, and the unpractised observer of French administrations would imagine that he was entering a building devoted to the protection of formidable war material, and not of haricots and lentils, the blue woollens of the aged poor, and the beds and the linen of the destitute sick. But the Magasin Central is so novel, so interesting, and so instructive a store, that I must devote a separate chapter to it.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

THE HOUSE OF HELP, AND HOSPITAL BEDS FOR  
THE POOR.

THE sound public economy of keeping the public health at the highest attainable pitch is pretty generally admitted, and pretty generally neglected, in England. Directly the maladministration, blundering, and confusion of the English poor-law *régime* is attacked, and a speaker or writer ventures to draw upon his foreign experiences for an amendment or a remedy, he is met with the old cries, which cover old errors, and opposed with prejudices which, albeit of ancient date, are in the heartiest strength even now. I have been greatly struck with the array of facts made by Dr. Rogers in an address to the Poor-law Medical Officers' Association, because they are all to the discredit of the English public men, who have been patching our Poor Laws for so many years past. These facts are blunders and shortcomings, which even

a peep at our more orderly neighbours would have taught them to deal with long ago. When I survey the establishments of the Paris Assistance Publique, and mark how they fit in one with another, all working in harmony to a common end; one real vital administration in the centre, making its vigour and heat felt to the remotest members of its body of *employés*; and then turn to the records of mistakes, and descriptions of bad payment and bad treatment, of medicines held back till the sick poor fall into the house, and the temporary public patient is shuffled by ignorant guardians and underpaid medical officials into chronic and, to the State, costly pauperism; —I am indeed earnest in begging readers of professional and social authority to come hither, and speedily much of the mischief might be got under.

To begin with. They who would succeed as reformers of the sick-poor treatment in England must approach the British ratepayer through his breeches-pocket. Prove to him that sound public health means empty workhouses, and consequently very low rates. A sick creature is a dear creature. Our shrewd neighbours understand this, and have directed charity carefully to the convalescent poor. In London you are discussing convalescent hospitals. In Paris the poor sick workman, who needs fresh air and nutritious food to get back his normal allowances of heat and muscle, can repair to the



splendid establishment at Vincennes; the workwoman to the Vesinet. One of the finest charities in the French capital is that which gives timely help to the poor as they issue, discharged, from the hospitals. The London plan is to break up the home, to stint the sick diet and the drugs, and so keep up the stock of pauperism in the workhouse.

Out of the unassisted or ill-assisted sick poor of England, we have been told by an authority none have ventured to contradict, 72 per cent. of the English paupers, who collectively cost about £7,000,000 sterling per annum, are made; and yet the Poor-law Board will not move to stay the manufacture. The workhouse medical officer is underpaid and overworked; the methods of distributing the drugs he orders are left to the will of guardians, or if he has contracted to supply medicines as well as advice, it is at so low a rate that he cannot afford to give his patients the drugs they require! I have already dwelt on the manner in which these things are regulated in Paris, and regulated, let me add, without striking a death-blow at "local self-government." The Central Store, the Central Pharmacy, the Central Meat Dépôt, feed the twenty arrondissement Bureaux de Bienfaisance—each according to the wants it makes known. The arrondissement Bureau, in its turn, supplies the Maisons de Secours, or houses of help, within its

circumscription. Every part of Paris is duly provided with its House of Help, to which the poor resort in sickness or in an emergency. And the House of Help is a dispensary, as well as a place for medical consultations, and distributions of clothing. It is a pleasant sight to see how smoothly all the duties proceed of a morning ; and how apt and gentle the sisters are in helping the poor to carry out the doctor's orders. It is the humane air that is upon the scene, the seemliness and the quiet, which strike the visitor who can remember the kind of treatment which the English workhouse poor experience—to our shame—but, let this be evermore insisted upon, to our wasteful cost as well.

There is a House of Help on the north side of the Mairie, by the Church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, to which the properly curious Paris visitor may repair with advantage, furnished with a note from the Central Bureau. It is an excellent sample of the best of these establishments : a school ; a consulting establishment ; a dispensary ; a store for linen that may be wanted on an emergency. It is administered and worked by a few gentle sisters, who surely here are doing woman's proper work.

Pray is there any sound reason why Houses of Help should not exist in London, and under the control of a central board, as well as that of an arrondissement bureau locally administered ? The local authority is valuable ; and is sensibly carried

out in Paris, where it is an honour in one's neighbourhood to be of the committee of the poor. There are in Paris no growths of poor through the maltreatment or neglect of the sick, like that which Dr. Rogers describes at Birmingham, and in several metropolitan parishes, where the manner in which the sick shall be treated is left to the temper, whim, or taste of guardians.

The care with which the sick poor are nursed back to perfect health by the plans now in full operation in and around Paris comes from that far-seeing providence which is a prominent French characteristic. Inquire, and you will be told that to give health to the poor is the very cheapest way of assisting them. Can there be a doubt on the subject? The only capital they have in the world is their store of strength: let this fail, and the State must provide for them. Surely, then, it is best to prop up their strength.

The Poor-law Medical Officers' Association are at the root of the evil, when they insist on a complete reform of the medical treatment of the English poor (rather in the direction of Paris than of Ireland). If homes were broken up in Paris, as they are in London, because they want temporary relief, Napoleon's capital would not have its actual general holiday look. More timely help in England would decrease the pauperism; and improve the race. For the consequences of our fundamental

blunder spread. The sick poor man and his wife are neglected ; they create children with hereditary taints and defects—in other words, creatures who, under the Poor-law system, must become paupers or criminals. You save a bottle of quinine, and add a family's keep to your liabilities. You will not nourish the convalescent poor man into strength for work : he languishes, and you must house him to the end of his days, and rear his family of sickly children.

Years ago, when I was going over the establishment of the *Enfants Assistés*, the director answered my observation, that so vast an establishment must be costly, with a Frenchman's shrewdness. "It is much cheaper than prison," said he. "We must get a home for them, and teach them to maintain a home for themselves, or society will have to keep them altogether." With us the workhouses are the entailed inheritances of the children of our streets. We have not reached yet even that elementary providence, the proper treatment of the pauper invalid, that he may be enabled to return to work and independence.

The confused ideas about the proper relation of the hospital to the poor which have been manifested on many occasions in England, tempt me to offer the reader a brief indication of the manner in which the hospitals of Paris (the creations of public benevolence) are worked in harmony with

the Assistance Publique laws. Here there are no establishments to be paid for out of the pockets of men, many of whom have not one farthing of property, and themselves depend on their daily health for their daily bread. The ideas which prevail in London and in official circles, as well as in the outer world, about the Assistance Publique of Paris, are, in many important respects, erroneous. To begin with, it is generally conceived that the gigantic infirmaries with which London was to be endowed, were recommended by the success of similar institutions in Paris : the fact being that here no necessity whatever exists for special hospitals for the pauper sick ; just as in Belgium there is no need for a separate series of pauper madhouses. Instead of perpetuating an expensive and a destructive confusion and antagonism between independent charity and State charity, the French were wise long ago, and took advantage of the gifts of noble citizens to the fullest, by putting the administration of them in harmonious operation with the help which the State or municipality had elected to bestow on the defenceless poor. No violence whatever was done to the testamentary wishes of hospital founders. The princely Montyon legacy to the lately suffering was held sacred in the channels originally traced for it. Every benevolent person who has founded a bed in the Incurables Hommes or Incurables Femmes has a right which is respected.

scrupulously. There is not in the Assistance Publique a centralisation which benumbs individual charity ; but rather a sympathetic general direction that encourages it, by giving to every groat in the poor-box, every centime put into the bag at the church door, its fullest relief value. An admission card lies before me, given to me by M. Husson, on the back of which is printed a list of the various institutions which are under his sway. They will give the reader an idea of the comprehensiveness of the Paris system, and at the same time show him that Paris is not provided at the public expense with a series of district pauper hospitals. Here is the list :—

*General Hospitals.*—The Hôtel Dieu, Notre Dame de Pitié, Charité, Saint Antoine, Necker, Cochin, Beaujon, Lariboisière.

*Special Hospitals.*—Saint Louis, Midi, Lourcine, Enfants Malades, Sainte Eugénie, Maison d'Accouchement, Cliniques, Maison Municipale de Santé.

*Asylums and Retreats.*—Bicêtre, Salpêtrière, Incurables Hommes, Incurables Femmes, Enfants Assistés, Ménages, Devillas, La Rochefoucauld, Sainte Périne, Chardon Lagache, Saint Michel, La Reconnaissance.

*Establishments for the General Service of the above.*—Central Bakery, Central Pharmacy, Magasin Central, Central Meat Dépôt, Central Wine Cellar,

Anatomical Amphitheatre, the Municipal Direction for Nurses.

The asylums and retreats, like the hospitals, are private foundations; and the history of most of them is to be found in "*Les Bienfaiteurs des Pauvres*" in the "*Annuaire de la Charité.*" Pious people will find a bed at the Incurables, Hommes or Femmes; and they are masters of it, subject, of course, as in every private charity, to the rules of the place. This subordination of private as well as State charity to one intelligent central authority does not, I insist, weaken the spontaneous benevolence of individuals; nor does the strictness with which the Assistance authorities require their unpaid visitors and committeemen to attend to their duties to the poor and in the council chamber, lessen the number of gratuitous servants of the administration. There is nothing sadder nor more scandalous in the history of English charity than the records of millions wasted which it comprehends. With British generosity and French administration, the case of even our great army of martyrs to a bad Poor Law might be grasped. As it is, we show builders for ever busy on new architectural wings; the London Tavern perpetually steaming with the rich juices of charity dinners; and twenty, thirty, forty, nay fifty per cent. of Samaritan gold warming the palms of secretaries, architects, and the like. Nor is this all, nor the worst part of the blundering.

The poorest are not the people mostly helped. The French have their *pauvres honteux*, of whom they take the most delicate care ; while we are the dupes of hosts of unabashed and undeserving poor, who hunt up votes for admission to asylums, have an unerring scent after tickets of all kinds, and have the charities of London as closely at their finger-ends as Mr. Sampson Low, jun. The oldest as well as the newest of our great private charities are diverted, in some measure, from their proper uses. Each independent body acts in royal independence of its neighbour. The governors know little or nothing of the general condition of the poor. Nobody takes the trouble to glance into the neighbouring parish. There is a vulgar, bustling hunt after patrons in all directions. The personages who deign to preside when the charity is bound to speak in public, and to implore yet another wing, are posted up for the occasion, and dutifully earwigged by "our indefatigable secretary." Brown and Jones discuss the amount they *must* give, over their plover's eggs.

This may be charity, and charity made easy ; but it is, I venture to submit, clumsy, wasteful, and harmful. The reform which is wanted, to begin with, in England, is in the direction of consolidation, and not of new barracks for mad or sick. The philanthropically disposed are repelled from the workhouse. Who offers assistance, in a spirit



of brotherly kindness, to the Poor-law authorities? Is there the least community of feeling or of opinion between Poor-law officers and, say, the Society for the Relief of Destitution in the Metropolis? The vast and splendid hospitals with which London is provided show many empty beds, while the workhouse infirmaries are over-crowded. Each parish works in its own way; each hospital is a separate kingdom; each asylum is a fortress. The poor are neglected in one street, and kindly used in another. Even decent mortuaries are not uniformly provided in every part of London. All is hap-hazard, sloth or activity, with self-sufficiency agog in every vestry and board-room. The money spent is enormous, and the result is, a daily increasing rate of pauperism,—because the sick are neglected until they become permanent paupers; because the children are left in the streets; because none of the relief is remedial—except that which the Jewish guardians afford to their people. In Whitechapel, the poor Jew is the only man who is helped intelligently out of his poverty. The reason is, because the Jewish guardians are modelled, in their ways of proceeding, on the harmonious machinery of the French Assistance Publique. They have a searching system of out-door relief for the sick, conducted by voluntary visitors of their own persuasion, accompanied by efficient relief that keeps the home together;

and they have hospital beds to which they can send those patients who cannot be treated at home. All their charities are in unison, and act and react upon each other. The volunteers who serve the poor are in force ; and hence a thorough inquiry into the condition and deserts of every applicant for relief. Among the Christian guardians the inquiry is a mockery ; and the relief is only bread enough to keep the applicant alive till his turn comes round again. Sick, he finds a difficulty in getting advice, and almost the impossibility of procuring the medicine he is ordered. The parish cannot give him a bed in a hospital ; but he may reach the workhouse infirmary, and, as a preliminary, break up his home. Or, he may set forth begging among the private charities—to fall presently into the ranks of the professional ticket-hunters.

I have read diligently both sides of the question in regard to the asylums which are to grow, at enormous cost, in or near London, and I am only more firmly convinced than ever that we are on the high road to deeper mischief, unless we reform the Poor-law root and branch. Every home the law breaks up spreads new pauperism. The wise Jews, imitating our prudent and thoughtfully methodical neighbours, have made their medical staff for the poor perfect, and have helped the doctor with a kitchen as well as a

pharmacy. Their vigour has been in the direction of home ; and so has that of M. Husson's department. The striving of the French poor administrators has been to keep the old people in the home as well ; not to mass them in the asylums. The workhouse is the mistake in the English Poor-law system ; and we will not see it, nor be at the trouble of mastering the details of a better system—cheaper and kindlier,—although it is flourishing within ten hours of Whitechapel, and serves the poor of a vast metropolis without a workhouse, and without oppressing those who are only just removed from a condition of want with poor-rates.

Consider the case of the poor Paris workman who is disabled by disease. The *Maison de Secours* is at hand. The doctor reaches him, and leaves a record of the hour of each visit and the condition of the patient. He is followed by inspector and visitor, who attend to the poor man's wants and help the family. It is cheapest to get the man to work again as soon as possible, and to keep the home together. When his case requires particular treatment or peculiar skill, he is removed by the Poor-law officers, upon a decent covered litter, to the special hospital which treats his disease. The home relief, the attendance, medicines, the hospital, and the carriage thither—nay, the convalescent hospital at Vincennes for fresh air,—are all harmoniously and cheaply worked together,

through (1) the Maison de Secours, (2) the Arrondissement Bureau, and (3) the General or Central Bureau.

Consider the case of the poor sick workman in London. His family are invited into the workhouse to begin with. If they hold together—some six or seven in a room—he is sparingly attended; his supply of medicines is dubious; no volunteer visitor keeps a rigorous superintendence over the Poor-law doings; his family starve on parish bread under his eyes, goaded incessantly with invitations to give up independence and go into the house, and become regular paupers, leaving an inheritance of workhouse morality to their children. Consider the case of the Jewish workman again, who, in the midst of the atrocious and costly barbarism to which the poor Christian of Whitechapel is subjected, is well nourished and attended in sickness, and sees his wife and children cared for until he can be the bread-winner again. The Rothschilds, who have graced their wealth always, both in London and Paris, with a most chivalrous and open-handed service of the poor—service of thought and time, as well as of money—have been workers in this direction. But our Poor Law administrators are suffering, I fear, from *mortar* on the brain.

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## CHAPTER IX.

## THE CENTRAL STORE OF THE POOR.

THE immense range of buildings on the Boulevard de l'Hôpital, close to the Salpêtrière, is the central store-house of the Assistance Publique of Paris; the completion of which has enabled the order-loving authorities of the Seine to get the supplies for hospital, asylum, Bureau de Beinfaisance, and House of Help, under one authority, and in that methodical trim which makes the production of the smallest *tisane* vessel the affair of a moment. Not a baby's cup can stray hence, and not be missed. A handful of lentils—almost a haricot, white or red—would form the subject of an inquiry. We smile as we pace through these apple-pie regions, turned over, at the entrance to the broken bed-chair department, or the baby-linen gallery, to a fresh functionary of sharp, military appearance; but the care and precision mean economy. It is affecting to pause, for instance, in

the Hospital Broken Department; for the *débris* speaks of all the sad circumstances of many deaths. The old men's chairs, greased where the tired head has rested; the piles of severed arms and legs; the little bed-cupboards unhinged and splintered; the disjointed mechanical seats; and then the wonderful old clocks and broken ornaments which have been treasured by the poor owners,—have tales upon the surface of them, and they are all of misfortune. The mark of poverty deepens the mark of suffering upon all. It is upon the ancient sedan-chair in which hundreds of unfortunate wretches have been borne away to the *Maison de Santé*. Bedraggled feathers are here, and, the attendant tells, are very valuable articles: brilliants, for instance, may be seen amid the cast-off wear of the hospital or asylum poor. It happens in this way, I should remark. Say a man is carried to the hospital, and dies there. His personal belongings become the property of the *Assistance Publique*; and in this way even brilliants of price fall into the hands of those who collect the tatters of the sick wards. M. Husson is not exorbitant, however. The relatives may reclaim the treasure found, on payment of the fees for the hospital treatment—which are low enough. The rule is to sell all this lumber of the dead by auction every three months.

But let us take a methodical stroll through the

stores, ushered by the intelligent and courteous commissariat officer of the poor, who exchanges salutes with his fellow-officers, touching his kepi in true military style, and who is set apart by the Director to accompany us throughout our inspection.

We are first ushered into the textile fabric stores. They are disposed in blocks, lettered and numbered, something in the fashion of a Manchester warehouse. Blues and greys are the prevailing colours—for the old and for the young—for the *Salpêtrière* crone's winter petticoat, and the frocks of the *enfants assistés*. That which charms the visitor is the exquisite order, neatness, and cleanliness. Here are the stacks of clothing for the *nouveaux-nés*. The dark pile is the trowsers-cloth of the *Assistance palefreniers*. Amiens and Lille provide the bulk of the linen fabrics—the linen and sacking, from the finest to the toughest, with which strait-waistcoats are made. The hospital sheets, pillow-cases, mattress-covers, &c., are all of carefully regulated quality. There is a special fabric for the *employés* sheets and the surgeon's apron. The bandages for the patients are of the softest texture. Since 1860, all the fabrics in use in the establishments of the Paris Assistance have been distributed from these long galleries, in which they are kept in bulk. There are stacks of cottons (*Indiennes*)—browns, blues, and greens—neat and pleasant patterns for

the young, making the wearer a less dismally marked-off individual than the child of charity in England. There are mountains of woollen socks, bulky pieces of spotted linen for babies' caps, and snowy heaps of material for those ample head-gear which the good sisters of the hospital and the *Maison de Secours* wear. The old men's cloth is a deep blue, and it is piled in vast stores of comfortable winter clothing, which is distributed to the *Bureaux de Bienfaisance* when the cold comes. The thick petticoats and children's clothing, the flannel waistcoats and jackets, are all beautifully finished, and of sound and solid material.

I should observe that the greatest care is taken by the authorities to secure the quality contracted for. A committee of eight or ten experts meets to pass each description of goods. The manufacturer has no notice of the day on which his consignment is to be examined; so that the most impartial opinion is secured. Not a wooden spoon is received without having undergone this test, and having been compared with the contract models (which are methodically distributed in a separate department for constant reference). All condemned things are removed to a house apart, which is near the test house, and which was pretty full of bales when I saw it.

The work of an immense woollen and linen department like this (along the central line of which



trucks conveying stores to the openings to the court-yard are continually travelling) is a useful force, which the Assistance of Paris was not likely to neglect. The poor find work in making the clothing of the poor, either at home or in the asylums.

From the linen and woollen galleries, I passed to *salles* where the hardware and crockery of the hospitals and asylums are kept. These articles are so labelled and stacked upon stands that the superintendent can tell the number of *crachoirs* or night-lamps he has in store at any moment; and can satisfy a demand from any establishment without a moment's delay. The crockery and hardware governor was an exceedingly attentive and intelligent official; and went into the beauties and uses of all he had in store with zest. He touched on the excellently thoughtful contrivance of the *crachoir* which prevents the patient from seeing his expectoration; and the artfully contrived plates, which it is scarcely possible to break, without deliberation and a sledge-hammer. The *tisane* pots were, of course, in formidable numbers; as I anticipated, after having glanced along the line of vats in the *tisane* department of the Lariboisière. I passed in review stores of soup-tureens (for the messes of twelve of Bicêtre); little goblets and rounded spoons for the children of the *crèches*; pharmacy phials and glass of every description; brushes, the

*vicillesse-hommes* tumblers, all marked with the initials "A. P."; oil cans, with an external regulator by which the amount left can be told (so that there is no occasion to open it from the time it leaves the store until it is returned empty); knives, ladles, pots, scales, coffee-grinders, pestle-and-mortars, and copper *casseroles*, beloved of the French cook (who estimates the rank of a family by the number of them in their kitchen); milk vessels. Of these milk-vessels I should say one word. They are ingeniously contrived. Say they are filled in the dairy establishment at Bicêtre, to be sent to the little ones at the immense nursery of the *Enfants Assistés*. When the vessel is filled, it is locked. It cannot be tampered with on the way; and only the director of the *Enfants Assistés* can open it. In this way quality and quantity are secured; and the pump plays no part in the Assistance dairies, beyond that of keeping the pails clean. The variety of articles is curious. Tubs, baskets, feather-beds, gridirons; a light metal crate, contrived to lift patients and carry them; leg-rests, crutches of every size, mouse-traps, clothes-pegs, sandals for the vapour bath, the model hospital bath, rush-bottomed chairs! And beyond this miscellaneous store was the pattern room, in which there was a sealed sample of every article made for the store.

From the hospital and domestic articles, I was led to the food department. The store contained

sacks of haricots, peas, rice, lentils, semolina, &c., all of the best quality, and approved by a testing committee, in whose presence samples are cooked. The indifferent consignments are condemned, and the contractor is bound to replace them by an equivalent of good articles before he can remove the bad from the store. When he fails within a given time, the authorities buy at his expense to the extent of his deficiency. Before he can become a contractor, he must make a money deposit, to cover any risk by his *laches*. Over the stores of fabrics, and crockery, hardware, &c., are the long galleries of made-up clothing, grouped in squares upon lofty stands, each square being that of a hospital or asylum, or a Bureau. The gallery of children's clothing is that by which the march of the visitor is opened. The place is airy and sweet; and, as the housewife says, "you might eat your dinner off" the polished floors. Packets of layettes for the Bureaux de Bienfaisance are in astonishing numbers. The attendant explains that each complete layette consists of twenty-seven articles. Another bundle (they are neat as confectioners' parcels) is for a child from seven to twelve months of age, and consists of fourteen articles. Then there are trowserings for the orphans who are scattered about the provinces, for growths ranging from one to eighteen years. The "*toilette*" of an orphan child of one year, of two, of three years;

the "*trousseau*" of an orphan girl who has reached her eighteenth year,—all are folded in snowy linen of excellent quality.

The hospital linen and clothing fill the principal upper galleries. Here is the Lariboisière group; here that of La Charité; and here, again, the Lourcine. The sheets are of four qualities—namely, one for the Assistance *employés*; one for the sick, one for the children, and one for the aged. The clothing is cut in the Magasin, and then worked by the poor at home, or by the women of the Salpêtrière—even by the mad patients. So close and complete is the system that not a yard of linen nor a child's pinafore can be lost. The attendant said to me that, if called up in the night, he could walk in the dark and put his hand upon any package from any of the hospital reserves that might be ordered. These hospital stores are the stock each hospital has in excess of its regulated supply. In each hospital, a stack, in the Lingerie, exactly resembling its reserve compartment in the Magasin Central, will be found. The attendant was thoroughly proud of his domain. Pausing before a very bulky reserve, he said: "See the St. Louis stock in reserve; all new sheets—all good, sound linen." And the fine flannels for newly-born infants, the solid grey blankets, the exquisitely white bundles of underlinen, were a striking sight all along the gallery.

Beyond the hospital reserves were piles of hospital iron bedsteads, spring mattresses, and the light warm *édredons*, under which almost the poorest folk of Paris contrive to sleep in the winter ; baths, &c. A separate building flanks the Magasin, between it and the Salpêtrière. It is a very long, narrow room, and has been made the great central mending gallery of the hospitals of Paris. The Assistance, in addition, have put up machinery for wool-carding.

The cutting-out department, and the dépôt where articles condemned to figure at the quarterly sale are gathered, complete the Magasin Central, in every corner of which is to be seen the moral and pecuniary value of order.

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## CHAPTER X.

## BEGGARS AND VAGRANTS.

TRAVELLING, as I have been, through the poverty of Europe, noting the state and private treatment of it, I have been struck with the radical difference of view in England and France in regard to mendicity and vagrancy. I venture to submit some of my experiences and observations on this head, in the hope that they may be of some little help to social scientific men.

The *Depôt de Mendicité* was established in France very early in the seventeenth century, after successive kings had tried branding with hot irons, hanging, and shaving, among other correctives of vagabondage. Some of the plans for the suppression of the tramping and begging which prevailed in almost every part of England, and that have been recently propounded at various congresses or conferences, indicate a savage feeling akin to that in which the Parliament of Paris legislated against

beggars and vagabonds in 1596. By a law passed in that year, all vagabonds—men without work or home—were commanded to quit Paris within four-and-twenty hours, on pain of being hanged without any ceremony or trial. The tramps and beggars were ordered to be shaved, that they might be known everywhere. These strong measures were less humane and less efficacious than the Mendicity Law of François Premier, which ordered all the unemployed to be set to labour on the public works. It was in the seventeenth century, however (in 1627), that the Assembly of Notables decided there should be a commission in each Parliament, to act in concert with the bishop of the diocese, to bring the beggars and vagabonds within the scope of a general system. Workshops were opened in mendicity dépôts, and the public works were thrown open to the unemployed. At the same time, the refractory—those who persisted in roaming through the towns, and who would not work—were made liable to be sent to the galleys. Successive laws from the beginning of the seventeenth century dealt with beggary and vagabondage in the same spirit. Work was found for the workless, while those who would not work were put under lock and key. The aged and infirm, and helpless women and children, were gathered to the hospitals (not brilliant institutions in those days, as the terrible histories of the Salpêtrière and Bicêtre attest) ; but no quarter was

given to the valid rascal who could and would not labour.

The existing mendicity depôts of France are modern developments of that firm, and at the same time humane, spirit in which Francis the First attacked vagabondage in 1545. The existing system of mendicity depôts, which are established in all the departments of France, is based on a decree of the First Empire (July 5, 1808). It should be understood, however, that it is only an ancient system—patchwork of the past—reduced to order, and put in harmony with the other parts of the civil and penal codes. It is, moreover, the principle set in action at Munich and elsewhere by Count Rumford; and in some parts, where his method has been modified, the new direction is less humane than his.

The general view of vagabondage and mendicity which Count Rumford sets forth in his essays, and on which he acted so vigorously in Bavaria, is the nearest approach to the truth on the subject we have yet reached. Speaking of Bavaria, he observes :—

In the great towns, besides the children of the poorer sort, who almost all made a custom of begging, the professional beggars formed a distinct class, or caste, among the inhabitants; and, in general, a very numerous one. There was even a kind of political connection between the members of this formidable body, and certain general maxims were adopted and regulations observed in the warfare which they carried on against the public. Each



beggar had his particular beat—a district in the possession of which it was not thought lawful to disturb him ; and certain rules were observed in disposing of the districts in case of vacancies by deaths, or resignations, promotions, or removals. A battle, it is true, frequently decided the contest between the candidates, but when the possession was once obtained, whether by force of arms or by any other means, the right was ever after considered as indisputable. Alliances by marriage were by no means uncommon in this community; and, strange as it may appear, means were found to procure legal permission from the civil magistrates for the celebration of these nuptials. The children were of course trained up in the profession of their parents, and, having the advantage of an early education, were commonly great proficient in their trade. As there is no very essential difference between depriving a person of his property by stealth and extorting it from him against his will by dint of clamorous importunity, or under false pretence of feigned distress and misfortune, so the transition from begging to stealing is not only easy, but perfectly natural. That total insensibility to shame, and all those other qualifications which are necessary in the profession of a beggar, are likewise essential to form an accomplished thief ; and both these professions derive very considerable advantages from their union. A beggar who goes about from house to house to ask for alms has many opportunities to steal, which another would not so easily find ; and his profession as a beggar gives him a great facility in disposing of what he steals, for he can always say it was given him in charity. No wonder, then, that thieving and robbing should be prevalent where beggars are numerous.

This was the case in Bavaria in Count Rumford's time, and it has been the case in many countries—

may, in all regularly governed settled countries—from the remotest times. Reynier,\* in his learned work on the public and rural economies of the Jews, describes the vagabond and do-nothing flourishing on the corner of the harvest-field set apart for the widow and orphan, the halt, the blind, and the aged. When, after the suppression of the Jubilee, the rich families arose, and fortune was concentrated in few hands, there came to view an ever-increasing indigent class—the pauper family that sold itself into bondage. The forced idleness of the Seventh Year, again, operated disadvantageously on the poorer class, as well as the excessive taxes of the priests. It came to pass that in spite of the charity which was a precept of the Jewish faith, and which, Jewish writers insist, amounted † to one-fifth, or at least to one-tenth of a man's revenue, a class of paupers and beggars and rascals grew up in the nation, and practised exactly those dishonest acts which Count Rumford found flourishing in Bavaria towards the close of last century, and which have puzzled the acuteness of legislators in France and England for many generations.

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\* “De L'Economie Publique et Rurale des Arabes et des Juifs.” Par L. Reynier. Geneva. 1820.

† Reynier discredits the assertion, alleging the constant complaints in the writings of the Rabbi, against the hardness and selfishness of the rich, and their punishment for parsimony by the Sanhedrim.

By the Jewish law the cultivator was bound to yield up a tenth of his crop once in three years to the necessitous widow and orphan ; he gave, therefore, a thirtieth of his produce yearly. But there were no authorities to receive and distribute it ; consequently, the most active and importunate (generally the least deserving) pressed to his field, and carried away all that had been set apart for charity. Moreover, the Jewish cultivator was bound by law to set apart a corner of every field of produce that could serve for human food, for the purposes of the poor generally—except where one-half of his crop had been accidentally destroyed. The corner could not be less than a sixtieth part of the area of the field, and the Sanhedrim was particular as to the part of the field, recommending cultivators who farmed, where the poor were many, to give a handsome slice of their cereal riches. But the corner of the field was abandoned, like the tenth of the orphan and the widow, to the first comers ; and these speedily became a class of vagabonds and shameless idlers so rapacious and determined that it was necessary to pass a law prohibiting the use of the sickle in the corner of the poor, lest the greedy crowd should injure one another. The equivalent of the result, which became apparent in the corner of the poor in remote Jewish history, was on the surface when Count Rumford swept the beggars from the streets and roads of Bavaria ; and

is still perceptible in France, albeit minute precautions are taken to prevent imposition, and to detect and punish deliberate mendicancy. It is prominent in England, for the reason which, according to Reynier, made misery chronic and widespread among the Jews of old—viz. that all their measures for attacking poverty were palliatives. None touched the heart of the evil. That the core of the evil is vigorous in England is shown not only by the crowds of beggars of all ages who infest the streets of all British cities, but specially and notably by the development of the tramp system, which is as thoroughly an organization as the *tour de France* of the French journeyman. Great Britain is mapped out by a methodical vagrant population, whose only industry consists in trudging from one begging ground to another, and who debate the qualities of casual wards, refuges, and common lodging-houses, as regular travellers discuss the relative merits of the Grand Hôtel and the Langham. And yet people are asking what is to be done with them : for little or nothing, which is not blundering, is done. What is likely to be done, while the subject is thought over among cultivated men in the spirit of the following paragraph, which I have extracted from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Sept. 1868 ?—

You cannot drive through any part of the country, especially in August and September, without seeing them

by the dozen on the roadside. All told, there are probably at least 15,000 of them, and they are yearly on the increase. Every class of society contributes to their ranks; and they are on the increase, too, by a process of spontaneous generation. They have a language of their own, like the White-chapel thieves. They have rites and signs of their own, like the Freemasons. Their habits of life are as stereotyped and as picturesque as those of the House of Lords or the gipsies. They cherish their traditions like Mohawks; and, perhaps, when they find a man of genius to take them in hand and sketch their lives, as Charles Dickens has sketched the lives of a less reputable, and, on the whole, a less interesting class, the world will be astonished to find how distinguished in social life many tramps had once been. At present the world knows them only as pests, and wishes to treat them only as pests. How to put them down is the question of the hour; for in the form of rates and taxes they are costing us yearly half the amount we have just spent in the conquest of Magdala. They are the spawn of civilisation—that is their real description. They are kept alive and kept on the roads by alms. Perhaps, therefore, the easiest way to put them down is to starve them out—to refuse them alms, and to make them move on. But you cannot make John Bull button up his breeches pocket by Act of Parliament, unless you tax him. He will insist upon his right to relieve the poor at his gate as well as the workhouse. He thinks this is charity; and you might as well preach to cromlechs as to tell him that his alms breed more paupers than they relieve. It is a fact that this thoughtless almsgiving developes paupers, just as it is a fact that the rays of the sun increase insect life. But John Bull hates cynics, and calls political economy “a science without bowels.” I am afraid, therefore, that Mr. Lambert’s suggestion of “buttons”—that is to say, buttons to the breeches pocket—will not take. It is the only real check

to vagrancy and pauperism ; but John Bull is not ripe for it yet. The police ought to be able to stamp out this pest for us by a set of regulations such as those now in force in Gloucestershire. The magistrates there relieve every vagrant who asks for relief ; but the provision is slender, too slender to encourage idle men to go on tramp, and it is uniform ; and we have the testimony of Mr. Baker, of Hardwicke Court, that the plan works excellently. "Whereas," says Mr. Baker, "three years ago at three houses out of four in the country a beggar got a piece of bread or a penny (the former being sold to a beershop-keeper to feed his chickens, and the money spent in drink), at the present time there is not one house in ten where anything is given him, unless he shows by a ticket-of-way that he has travelled ten miles or so from the place where he slept last night, and has had no relief by the way." The magistrates of Gloucestershire have struck at the heart of the evil ; and if all "the shires" followed their example, tramps would soon be as rare as negroes in the towns and villages which they now infest and pillage.

Buttons to the breeches pocket will "take," I hope, when English legislators shall have contrived a wise plan for the treatment of vagrancy and mendicity. To talk about stamping out the pest with a policeman's heel, is to do harm—to hinder the progress towards a rational curative process.

In the penal code of France the law in regard to vagrancy and mendicity is recited in thirteen articles ; the fourteenth having been abolished in 1832. Let us see how this law affects the evils against which it has been raised, administered, as it is, most

methodically and uniformly, throughout all the departments of France ; and tempered by the régime of a *maison hospitalière* as well as a *maison de repression*—a Villers-Cotterets dépôt, as well as a St. Denis prison. We may decide presently that the place is full of faults ; but the spirit is brave and kind, as well as rational. The beggar is taught to work—at a pinch, forced to work ; and care is taken that the vagrant shall not have tenth transmitters of a lying face. Buttons to the breeches pocket are no part of the system. Let me now turn to the law, before proceeding to St. Denis.

Book the Third, Section 5, sub-section 2. —Vagabondage—On Vagrancy.—Article 269 recounts that vagrancy is a punishable offence. The next article describes the vagabond or vagrant. He is without occupation, lodging, or regular or admissible means of subsistence. He follows neither trade nor profession. Convicted of vagabondage, an offender may, according to Article 271, be imprisoned for periods varying from three to six months. On liberation he is placed under the surveillance of the police for a period varying between five and ten years. Vagabonds under sixteen years of age cannot be imprisoned ; but they are put under police surveillance until they are twenty-one, or until they enlist in the military or naval services. Article 272 gives the police authority to put convicted foreign vagrants beyond the

frontier. The next clause is important. The commune to which a convicted vagabond belongs, can, through its municipal council, claim him, or a solvent friend or relative may become security for him. The authorities, being satisfied, direct him to the commune or place which is assigned to him for residence. So much for vagrancy.

We now come to sub-section 3.—Mendicity.

Article 274 declares that every individual found begging in a locality in which there is a public establishment, organized to obviate the necessity for mendicity, shall be punished by imprisonment for a term of not less than three nor more than six months, and shall be afterwards conducted to the *dépôt de mendicité*. The following article deals with beggars found in districts where there are no public establishments:—The regular beggar incurs a term of imprisonment varying between one month and three months; but if he is taken out of the canton in which he lives, he is liable to a term of imprisonment ranging between six months and two years. The next article deals with beggars acting in concert, or using threats, or trespassing within an enclosure, a yard, or a habitation. Even when infirm, these incur a prison penalty, the extreme limit being two years. Beggars who mimic distress, or sickness, or infirmities, or who ply their trade in companies (except they be husband and wife, or parent and child, or blind



with a leader), come under the penalties of this article.

There are five articles which are applicable indifferently to beggars and vagabonds, or vagrants. Any beggar or vagrant found in any description of disguise, or carrying weapons (even when he has not tried to use them) or carrying files, keys, or any instruments usable for a burglary or other illegal act, may be imprisoned for a term varying between two and five years. The beggar or vagrant on whom more than 100f. are found must justify how he came by the money, or he is liable to an imprisonment not exceeding two years. Any beggar or vagrant who commits an assault is punished by reclusion (in the *depôt*, I presume) if the offence is light, but with severe imprisonment when his violence has been serious. The summing up of the beggar and vagrant law prescribes the infliction of the heaviest punishment in all cases where the offender is found with a false passport, false certificates, or other formal papers tending to confound his identity.

This is the law on which the police authorities act, and in furtherance of the spirit of which they use—1, the prison; 2, the repressive *depôt* of mendicity; and, 3, the hospitable house for the worn-out waifs and strays—past work, and past hope of help from any private quarter—who may have sung the old song Cotgrave quotes: “*Il n'est vie que*

de coquins quand ils ont assemblé leur brebis ” ;  
but have played their last cheat, and cozened their  
last obolus ; but cannot, for all their lies and sins,  
be left to die under a hedge.

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## CHAPTER XI.

## THE ST. DENIS DEPÔT.

AN authority at St. Denis said to me, "You must take the humane view in all these things," and it is taken sedulously even in the *maison de repression* of that ancient place where are the rifled tombs of the Kings of France. St. Denis streets prepare you for the lazar-house which is now its chief public establishment. The place is of ancient, squalid, low appearance. The marks of age are not venerable, save upon the noble pile that covers the Bourbon tombs, and the costly toys of kings. The long, tortuous, ill-paved street that leads through a busy, poor, chaffering people, to the cathedral, and, to the left, to the house whither I was bound, is a fair sample of the main thoroughfare of a fourth-rate French provincial town, whose sous-préfet has not caught the Haussmann fever. The sewerage offends the sight and scent, and the pavement is a carpet of torture. The builder has reached St. Denis,

however, and the place will be presently, I doubt not, as clean and uninteresting as the new Batignolles. The builder is, moreover, on his way to the beggars, who are now housed, under military guard, behind a long, low, white-washed wall, broken in the centre by a shabby guard-house, and pierced with windows—each provided with a shelving trough, or timber reflector, that closes the view of the street to the *repressed*, while it permits light enough to penetrate that they may do that which the beggar loathes more than imprisonment—work.

The sentry politely directed me to a squat, dark, greasy, and heavily-built door, of very repressing aspect; and I was admitted to the room of the sub-director, on the right of the entrance, by “a man on the key,” who was careful about his bolts, behind me. I presented my permit, given me by the Prefect of Police on the invitation of Lord Lyons; and the sub-director called for a warder who was to take me in charge. Waiting for my guide, I observed a poor crippled wretch, fearful and shamed, waiting in a corner, to be dealt with as a new comer. He was a beggar, who had just been swept from the Paris streets, and had been brought hither to taste the plainest fare, and master a trade, if he knew none. He could earn his liberty, by learning how to earn his bread, and how to love “freedom wealthy with a crust.” If past

work, he would in due time be transferred to the hospitable roof of the departmental beggars' retreat at Villers-Cotterets, a place connected historically with the State treatment of beggars,\* and to which I shall presently draw the reader's attention.

I would note, however, on the threshold of this St. Denis prison, that the fundamental distinction which the French law draws between the poor man—the pauper—and the beggar or vagrant, is important, and should be borne in mind as a leading thread in the consideration of the Assistance of France, in contrast with the poor-laws of England. Three great centres of authority control the poor population. The Assistance Publique governs the poor, young and old, valid and invalid (save the insane), and relieves them. The prefect of police takes the beggars and vagrants in hand. The prefect of the department—of the Seine—has direct authority over the pauper insane, although they

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\* Among the edicts of Francis I. was one, signed at Villers-Cotterets, for the general reform of justice, in August 1539. Challamel, in his "*Mémoires du Peuple Français*," notes: "The police were vigorous against beggars (or *caïmands*) and vagrants in the sixteenth century. The authorities did their utmost to break up their refuges. They used to sleep in the boats on the Seine; but they were driven thence. At the same time public workshops were established, whither the valid beggars were led in chains. The men were punished with the galleys; the women were whipped."

are chiefly in the two great pauper establishments of Paris—Bicêtre and La Salpêtrière. These three centres acting in harmony make the administration of the law searching, nay, completely operative; and hence the impossibility of finding in Paris parallels to the scandalous workhouse scenes which happen in London—where the President of the Local Government Board appears to the orderly French mind a helpless lord of misrule.

Through double doors, massively fastened, I was led by my guide—obviously an old soldier, and formidable and uncompromising still in appearance—on my way to the director, to whom I was to submit my card of admission to view. I entered a stunted, shambling, ragged quadrangle. The buildings and the half-cultivated open space looked like the *débris* of some ancient charity—alms-houses that had suffered severely in income. The warder at once adopted an apologetic tone; guessing that I should be struck with the irregularity and shiftless look of these beggars' barracks, about which a solitary jackdaw was hopping, completing the picture. He explained that it was a very ancient place; that it had never been intended by the architect for the purpose to which it was now applied; that it was full of insuperable inconveniences; and that another *maison de repression* was on the cards, a model one like those which have been built of late.

The director gave me a courteous reception, and

deigned to open the march, apologising, in the tone of his warder, as he led me into the bread-store—a low, sombre room filled with immense stands (like plate-racks) in which the bread of the beggars was methodically massed. The black bread was in small loaves, like soldiers' bread; and the white, for the sick, was finely baked, and had a dainty appearance. Taking up a loaf, and turning it and throwing it down, the director observed that the men were allowed 750 grammes a day, and the women 700. A French official is at home directly he opens on figures. The humblest hospital or refuge attendant can reel off the statistics of his establishment without tripping. It was explained to me that whereas the healthy men had 750 grammes of the brown bread daily, and the healthy women 700, the invalids who required the finer bread were allowed only 500 grammes. But I have obtained the *cahier* of the kitchens in the departmental establishments, of which the St. Denis depôt is one, and I shall take another opportunity of dwelling upon it, for, taken with the *cahier* of penal work, it is a most instructive as well as interesting document.

I passed from the bread depôt to the spacious kitchen—a small copy of the orderly French public kitchens, like those of the Invalides, or Bicêtre, or any of the hospitals—with extraordinarily capacious soup-kettles for chief ornaments, and the well-

known warm, greasy, appeal to the nostrils. The fare of the incarcerated beggars, male and female, is chiefly vegetable. They have two meals daily, viz. a breakfast between nine and ten o'clock in the morning, and dinner between two and three in the afternoon. There are no refectories; each inmate fetches his rations according to his number from the kitchen, and carries it off to his yard or ward or workshop, where he consumes it. On Thursdays and Sundays the daily fare includes 200 grammes of meat, with the stew or soup of vegetables—which are lentils, haricots, or potatoes. The sick allowance of meat is 300 grammes daily. On other days the morning ration is half a litre of stewed vegetables, flavoured and strengthened with 15 grammes of grease: the dinner being also a vegetable stew, or *soupe maigre*, containing ten grammes of grease to the ration. On Fridays there is a meal of butter and rice. No wine or beer whatever is allowed, save to the sick. This simple “repressive” fare is prepared by a cook who had the air of an artist, like the proudest of his profession, and did the honours of his kitchen, while my conductor was detailing his daily work, with much ease and dignity.

From the kitchen I was led through dark, narrow, heavily-timbered corridors to the women's section of the establishment. A long workroom was presided over by a matron, or female warder, who



bowed as I entered, and then addressing the thirty or forty old crones who were at work as “Mesdames,” bade them rise. Less prepossessing specimens of lovely women or of women who may have been lovely, it has never been my lot to see—even at the Salpêtrière. They were of the type many a visitor has observed in the old days whining at the *diligence* door, or at French cathedral entrances, or begging through provincial market-places, or let loose upon the festive population of Paris, on New Year’s Day or the Emperor’s fête, when mendicity is allowed its full swing. These mocking, hypocritical faces of the streets are subdued to a general local expression here (as human faces always are in refuges, asylums, prisons, and reformatories), and I am stared at and mutely criticised until the women are allowed to resume work. The tone of the place is cheerful, for it would be impossible to repress the natural cheeriness of the caged creatures of the streets; albeit they must chafe sorely against the bars that restrain that strongest habit of theirs—vagrancy.

The *Quartier des Femmes* is a large yard or open space, planted with trees, flanked with small, neat dormitories (the beds of which, by their regularity, look as though they had been turned down by machinery and measured in each fold to a *millimètre*) of eight to ten beds. I peeped into a very low, dark room, in a corner of the *quartier*—the infirmary

—where the sick and bed-ridden beggar-women were housed. That scene was made for the masterly pencil of Gustave Doré, who has made such glorious studies of the poor and beggar folk of Spain. The sad, the piercing, the half-extinguished eyes, that were turned sharply as lightning, or wearily as the sluggish spirit moves in pain and weakness towards the last, on me, when I appeared, and disturbed the women crouching, or doubled up in their beds or by their beds ! The faces were yellow and wrinkled like last year's apples. The head-gear was comfortable, with that triumphant disregard of appearances which our neighbours carry off with a spirit all their own.

Close by the entrance to this infirmary was a sentry-box that had seen many years' service ; and huddled within it were two old women, who had seen many years of vagabond idleness. They were chattering rapidly under their voices—probably of the departed glories of the Montagne St. Geneviève, before M. Haussmann had struck light through the quarter of the rag-pickers. The keenness still living in the two old faces was that which fixed the attention upon them, and showed them to be very beggar faces, schooled to watch and use the gullibility of man.

My conductor explained to me that the little dormitories were for the women who were past

work; and he showed me a *salle* of fine proportions, spanned by massive rafters, in which there were eighty-two beds—all in perfect order, as in the other dormitories—covered with brown counterpanes and good white sheets. There was at hand one of those perfect *lingeries*, which are the pride of the Paris asylums, hospitals, and prisons—linen being a passion still in France, as it is in Germany. Here I was duly informed that the body linen of the inmates was changed weekly, and the bed linen monthly.

There is not much to observe in the way of repression in the *Quartier des Femmes*; their work is light—washing, mending, plain needlework. I should add that all the women are dressed in a regulation gray gown of stout material, with white aprons, and that in the summer they have linen skirts. The directress of the female *quartier* holds the key which separates it from the men's quarter.

When she was respectfully summoned by the conductor to let us through out of her domain, she appeared brightly and tastefully dressed, and flaunting a ribbon in her cap that would have gladdened holiday eyes. A body of quick, sharp, decided manner, however, apt to repress, I thought, should any act of insubordination require firm treatment. My conductor touched his *képi* respectfully to her as we passed out into the men's quarter,

and she graciously bowed to me. Governess of the female beggars of the Department of the Seine! It would fare better with us, it seemed to me, if the honest, deserving poor in many an English work-house could come in contact with such light, cheerful, intelligent domination as hers. She bore in mind the *mot d'ordre*—"You must take the humane view in these things."

The oldest, dirtiest, dismallest part of the *depôt* is given to the men. The galleries or passages are dark. Rusty swing-lamps jut from the walls; a deep open ditch runs by some of the corridors, diffusing pestilential vapours in the hot months, looking, when I ventured to peep over the railing at it, very like slab, sorrel soup. The men sleep in large dormitories holding eighty beds, kept scrupulously sweet and clean, and they work in shops of various sizes, according to the numbers following the various trades which are carried on, under contractors who pay a contract price for the beggars' labour, under conditions similar to those which are enforced in the adjudication of prison-labour in France, and on which I shall dwell in reviewing the *cahiers* of the prison kitchen and the prison workshop, to which I have already referred. The range of trades in the St. Denis *depôt* includes rope-making, sack and band weaving, brush-making, tailoring, brass-working, shoemaking, hemp-spinning, box-making, that disruption of old material

which prepares it for an appearance as shoddy-cloth, and lint-making for the hospitals. The beggar workers are all in a gray suit, cobweb tint. But there are marks of honour even here. Those with red badges are *chefs de dortoir*, who govern the linen distribution, &c., of their sections. The sick beggars in the infirmary wear the pyramidal cotton nightcaps, which were generally worn a couple of generations back in our own country, and look for the most part as dark as Bengalese by contrast.

In each workshop the contractor's deputy presides; watches and directs the work, and sees that his master has his proper proportion of labour. The work begins at seven in the morning, and lasts in the summer till seven, and in the winter till dark. The average labour is ten hours a day. Some of the workshops are commodious; others (the tailors', for instance) contain an atmosphere stifling to the intruder from the open air; but in all there is good order, without that air of severity which is so painful to witness in our penal discipline. The sacking weavers—old rascals they looked, every one of them—wore the most sullen look of all; and one with heavy spectacles balanced on the tip of his nose, threw the shuttle with a gesture that expressed decidedly a repressed threat. The internal economy of the St. Denis depôt appeared to me to be excellently administered

throughout. All the labour that can be used is used. The old women clean the pans and pots, and carry the light domestic offices through. A strong beggar is put to chop the firewood. All are taught to work, are made to work ; and their work is turned to the utmost advantage to make their cost to the State as light as possible.

The director—a most courteous, kindly gentleman—bade me mark his place as an old one beyond repair ; and he recommended me to the model depôt of the department of the Aisne.

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## CHAPTER XII.

## ENGLISH AND FRENCH VAGRANTS.

THE sentiment which leads the French to make even the beggar partake of the enjoyments of a national fête, and to give him free place along the public walks where the holiday-makers may rain sous into his cap or hat, may be in this particular instance injudicious in its expression and repugnant to our inspirations of beadledom ; but the sentiment is part of that ready kindness of heart and chivalry towards the weak which pervade the "Public Assistance" of the country. In my last chapter I touched upon the humane view in the treatment of beggars on which a Mendicity Dépôt official insisted. I was standing a few days ago by the barrack-gates, on the Boulevard Malesherbes, wondering why a score of the most miserable-looking creatures I had ever seen, in the poorest nooks and corners of Paris, should be waiting under the noses of the sentries of the proud Imperial Guard.

Imagine the lofty air a British Grenadier would put on from his sentry-box if a squad of our tatterdemalion races were to close about him. The French guardsmen put on no airs; and presently five or six soldiers came forth from the barrack-yard, carrying large baskets piled with the broken food of the regimental mess! Never did gentle nurse touch the pillow of a sick child with lighter and more reverent care than these soldiers handled the strange, broken utensils which the hungry host held forth. You see there is a scrap for the poor possible from the *gamelle*; that the *hazard de la fourchette* extends a chance to the hungry boy without the barrack-gates! This is the spirit which presides over the Public Assistance, and which wells from the heart of the people. By its guiding light the whole system, both public and private, of help to the sick and poor and old must be studied if the social student would get any useful truth out of it. The officials, paid and unpaid, who administer to the French poor do their work with gentleness. The manner with which an English policeman addresses hungry, ragged children, and drives them before him, would create a tumult if it were exhibited on the Boulevards.

While considering this part of my subject, my attention fell on the report of a meeting of the Oswestry poor-law guardians, at which there was a discussion as to whether the girls in the



workhouse should wear hats or bonnets. Some kindly-minded person had, it seems, offered to supply the poor girls "with plain black straw hats free of charge." Whereupon a happy incarnation of English vulgar coarseness was eloquent to this effect: "I shall deprecate it very strongly. I know my missis won't allow one of her servant girls to wear a hat. If the children are brought up to wear cockalorum hats here, they'll want to wear them when they go away. They'll be wanting feathers next, and then you'd have young gentlemen coming courting after them." This is a good example of the spirit with which the English law is administered. When you get your pauper, mark him. Never let the workhouse-girl imagine she will live to wear a hat. Punish her severely should she reveal in her dreams that she thinks of a day when Fate may be propitious enough to add feathers. With the girl who hopes to be courted presently, and to become an honest woman, like the "missis" of the opponent of "cockalorum" hats, the very severest example should be taught to all young inmates of workhouses. No; once a pauper always a pauper. There are men among us who would brand the letter "P" upon the shoulder of every human creature who had received parish relief. There are people who talk of putting down the beggars in a spirit so savage that we incline again to gentle Charles Lamb's protest,

when the "all-sweeping besom of societarian reformation" was agitated in his day "to extirpate the last fluttering tatters of the bugbear Mendicity from the metropolis." Lamb cried: "Shut not thy purse-strings always against painted distress. Act a charity sometimes. When a poor creature (outwardly and visibly such) comes before thee, do not stay to enquire whether the 'seven small children' in whose name he implores thy assistance have a veritable existence. Rake not into the bowels of unwelcome truth to save a halfpenny. It is good to believe him. If he be not all that he pretendeth, *give*, and under a personate father of a family, think (if thou pleasest) that thou hast relieved an indigent bachelor. When they come with their counterfeit looks and mumping tones, think them players. You pay your money to see a comedian feign these things, which, concerning these poor people, thou canst not certainly tell whether they are feigned or not."

Since Lamb's time we have not made much progress towards the suppression of begging in the streets, and mendicancy has become a science, in spite of severe laws and the uncompromising spirit which has taken possession of the public mind. It would take deeper root if the spirit of our poor law were applied unreservedly to it. Just as the English poor law fails because its whole animus is repressive, so would a mendicity law, including the

rigour of Count Rumford's plan without its palliatives and correctives, fail. And yet this repressive principle, this order to "maximise prevention by minimising relief," is the direction which English reformers of our mendicity laws and plans are pushing forward. In France the beggar is more effectually dealt with than in England, because there is not a hard line drawn; because he is not commanded to disappear in an impossible manner. Nay, there are licenses to beg in the public streets! The parallel of Charles Lamb's herculean section of a man who used to propel his *torso* upon wheels through London streets for many years, and who was suddenly swept out of public sight by a ruthless change in the law; the parallel of this strange figure made whimsical in the light of the genial essayist's fancy is before me. The parallel is a woman. For many years have I watched her, planted by a palace gateway on the Boulevard des Capucines, with her two wooden legs thrust in an aggressive manner towards the passers-by. These stumps are her two hard facts with which she addresses herself to public pity—these are the bare poles of her ship's distress. They have seen long service, and she has as thriving an appearance as it is prudent for a mendicant to wear in public. On fête-days, when the New Year comes, when the crowds are passing to the Napoleonic games before the Invalides, or on Ascension Day, or the Day of the Dead, she counts

her richest harvests. She has weathered many years of storm with these two poles, with full authority of the police to show them. The blind are largely privileged in this way; the blind and the maimed. There is, I remember, an insolently sleek beggar at Boulogne, who has been flourishing there on one leg for at least twenty years, who dresses well, and eats of the dainties of the market, yet is left to ply his trade. His helpless plight is considered, and is a shield about him. He has conducted himself well, or he would have forfeited his medal years ago. The beggars of the Pont Neuf and the Pont des Arts of the old time, who have furnished ample material to the vivacious French writers—these are all registered beggars, approved traders on the charity of the passing public. That they should have been countenanced, and that at this present writing there should be beggars' badges obtainable at a French prefecture of police, will be to the English parochial or municipal mind evidence of the backwardness of our neighbours in these things. But let them be at the pains (which they are not likely to be) of mastering *all* the systems and studying *all* its results; and they will not escape the confession that it is better for the beggars, and consequently better for the public, than ours—just as the Jewish system described by Dr. Stallard is better than the Christian system of relief in London—the former

at the same time costing 24 per cent., and the latter 40 per cent.

It is outside the scope of this work to criticise the work of the London Society for Organising Relief and Repressing Mendicity. The measures on which the society is actively employed have for end the suppression of mendicity and vagrancy, and the instruction of the charitable in the methods by which proper objects for their bounty may be secured. May I be permitted, by the light of the experience I have gathered abroad, to offer a single observation on the proceedings of the society?

The success which has attended the operations of, so to speak, local Charity Committees, is not, to my mind, surprising. Where there is a distinctly marked locality, inhabited, in the main, by people of one level degree; where the area of operation, in short, is sharply marked, and the population is stationary; there a charitable committee might obtain a general harmonious action of the inhabitants in regard to mendicity in such a neighbourhood, and drive beggars beyond its confines. But when you apply the system to Marylebone, or Bloomsbury, or St. George's-in-the East; when you invite the inhabitants of the Strand, and Fleet Street, and Cheapside to put down mendicity by referring every beggar by ticket to the local charity committee, and refusing a groat direct to any supplicant—a very different result is obtained.

The sensible reply would be that the beggars are supported, not by the householders, as in an isolated locality like Blackheath, for instance, but by the passing foot-passengers. In London, the floating population—the daily human ebb and flow—supports the beggar, and helps the vagrant on his errandless way. The experience of Blackheath, viz. “above 90 per cent. of the *street* applicants for relief are impostors,” may apply—I have little doubt but that it does apply—to the street beggars all over the towns of the United Kingdom; but this fact is an old one, and has been insisted upon in a hundred forms for very many years past. It is the bad administration of our poor laws which makes pauperism hereditary. Cautious and practical inquirers have agreed that sickness and pauperism are convertible terms. The beggar is the pauper’s son, it may be also safely said. The interminable line of vagrants that dribbles everlastingly along the highways of England is but the marching army of pauperism, of which the workhouses are the barracks, and the relieving officers the drill sergeants. This is an army, the like of which the French have not, because relief is more intelligently distributed than it is with us. The beggars come out of the workhouse. The house is the crushing-mill of the poor home. The family once fairly within the iron gates is demoralised, and is filtered back to society broken in spirit, unfit

for work, and ready to beg. The Jewish guardians, wiser than the Christian, prevent the family from breaking up—even at a heavy expense (more than £1 per week in some instances)—keeping in view the well-established truth that a widow and children are the dearest articles to the parochial community. There are no Jewish beggars in the towns, no Jewish vagrants along the highways, and in his commanding contrast of London pauperism amongst Jews and Christians Dr. Stallard conclusively shows why.

The Jewish guardians have, in their London operations, closely followed the principles of the Assistance Publique of France. They are assisted by a band of earnest, gratuitous visitors. The board make a strict investigation into the merit of every case that comes before them, and keep a comprehensive record, supported by their visitors. The relief to the deserving is ample. Loans are granted to those who want them to open a little trade. The medical relief is complete; and, in regard to medicines and diet from the Baroness Lionel de Rothschild's Jewish kitchen, perfect. There are poor Jewish families that have been rescued from permanent pauperism at an outlay of £50; and their guardians, who are reputed to know the value of money and the strength of providence, have made this investment for their community as the most saving course in regard to their families. The

Jewish guardians insist on education as a condition of assistance in all their doings, wisely looking forward to the time when their *protégés* will be clear of the need for help. And brilliant success crowns their work, which is done beside the Christian guardianship, that throws open the stone-yard and the workhouse, and calls a few loaves of bread and a few shillings relief to a man on a sick bed, surrounded by a family of half-a-dozen children ! The Jews are a provident race, and we are not ; the French are a thrifty people, and we are a wasteful one.

When an Englishman inquires how it is that there are so few beggars in Paris—that he is not besieged at the railway stations nor importuned along the Boulevards—he should be answered that in Paris there are not 150,000, nor 5,000, wild pauper children kept on stock, to make the future generation of mendicants. Before any plan like that which the London Society for Organizing Relief and Repressing Mendicity have proclaimed can have a chance of success, the sources of supply must be stopped, the principle of relief must be changed, there must be a classification of the poor ; the spectacle of 100,000 out-door London paupers, “practically left in charge of only 100 relieving officers,” must be blotted out. We must learn that an average weekly relief of 9¼d. (see Dr. Stallard) can only increase pauperism ; and that 390 appli-



cations for help cannot be properly investigated by the acutest board of guardians in two hours and a half, or at the rate of three per minute.

The supply of beggary is closed in France not by repression but by remedial measures. M. Husson lightens the labours of M. le Préfet.\* Considera-

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\* "Nor is the practical exemplification of this harmony of action peculiar to the Jews. It is carried out in Paris; and why not here? The most agreeable feature in the Parisian charitable operations, says Mr. Blanchard Jerrold, is the zeal and persevering energy with which crowds of ladies and gentlemen, who receive no salaries, devote their time to the service of the poor. They are up and at work on winter mornings at seven o'clock. They submit to strict rules for the general good, and they are as strictly required to give in their monthly reports as if they were paid members of the bureau; and they submit to this discipline because there is at the back of every lady and gentleman who enters a poor man's house, a well-organized, economical administration, that has provided in a sensible manner, and with proper guarantees against fraud, for every possible form of distress. The visitor does not leave upon the table a tract, a soup-ticket, and a bit of tea; but she recommends the distress before her to the official of the bureau to which she belongs. If the distress be real and deserve relief, it has nothing to fear from the examination to which it will be subjected. If it is the story of a hypocrite, or the falsehood of the idler or the drunkard, it will be treated as it deserves. The visitor carries sympathy and interest into the homes of the poor, who receive the visits gladly because they prelude the relief which is required. Place the management of the metropolitan poor in the hands of practical men of the world—like the governors of the *Assistance*

tion for the poor is every man's business. To be a servant of the poor in his *arrondissement* is a dignity which the most honourable citizen covets. Who would understand the difference between English Poor-law and French *assistance publique* should spend a morning in a *maison de secours*, take a turn with an *arrondissement* inspector, go over the books of a *bureau de bienfaisance* and the reports of the Central Administration, take a long turn with the inspectors of the "assisted" children scattered over the metropolitan departments, inspect the hospitals and asylums, and mark with how much care both public and private charity concur in the desirability of holding the home of the poor together through the trial of sickness and convalescence as the kindest and the cheapest relief. There are few beggars in Paris as compared with London, because, I repeat, the sources of mendicity which we keep clear and open are judiciously closed; and because the law makes a life of vagrancy along the high roads almost an impossibility in France. The young beggar is not locked up, as with us, in our gracious phrase, as "a rogue and vagabond"; he

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*Publique* at Paris—and they would find no want of support in the shape of visitors and charitable guardians of every class."—"London Pauperism amongst Jews and Christians." By J. H. Stallard, M.B., Lond. The Jewish London Board owes its resemblance to the *Assistance*, of Paris, to the continental knowledge of the Rothschild family.

is gathered to a place where he may learn a trade. The adult vagabond, who begs because he will not work, is made to work, and the aged beggar who is past exertion is carried to a *maison hospitalière*, like the ancient manor house of the Duc de Valois, of Francis I.'s time (a notable reformer in this direction), which, Murray informs the sympathetic tourist, "is now degraded into a poor-house (*dépôt de mendicité*)".

I propose to survey the degradation in another chapter.

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## CHAPTER XIII.

## THE BEGGAR'S CHÂTEAU.

It requires no stretch of the imagination to conceive that in this quiet, out of date, but proud little town of the Aisne—this “oasis” in the forest of Retz, as Alexandre Michaux, learned historian of the place, has called it—the poor laws of France took their rise. It was hence, at any rate, that Francis I. issued his edict of 1539 for the general reform of justice, including that of the regulations affecting beggars and vagabonds. Augustin Chalmel declares that it was under this great king that public charity was ranged under Government authority. Three years after the edict of 1539 we find the king putting regularity and responsibility into the functions of asylum and hospital governors; and in 1546 he is busy among them, requiring each to give an account of his stewardship to the judge of his district. The work of this prince did not bear all the fruit he hoped at once; but

to him belongs the glory of having given a local habitation and a name to a State government of the concerns of the poor. By letters patent (November 6th, 1544) he established a general bureau for the distribution of help to the poor of Paris, and this is the birthday of the Assistance Publique of the twenty metropolitan arrondissements over which M. Armand Husson presides in the Avenue Victoria. If the method and kindly spirit of the author of State charity in France did not compass half the misery under which his people were suffering when he was banqueting in the proud château of Villers-Cotterêts, his beginning was the solid foundation on which the successive generations of his countrymen have been building ever since.

It is with pardonable pride that the historian of Villers-Cotterêts marshals the line of kings who have spread royal hospitality within the walls of the ancient castle, the towers of which still look loftily down upon a royal forest of extraordinary richness and extent—where the wild boar is still to be found. But it was in the time of Francis the First that the Castle saw its most glorious days; and it was in the midst of the splendour (fragments of the gilding are still upon the walls against which the beggar's head is pressed) that the sovereign issued the edicts and letters patent which, after some three centuries, have turned his sculptured

chapel into an infirmary for beggar-women ; and his *escalier dérobé* into a corner for crones to gossip through the lagging hours.

M. Alexandre Michaux, like the writer of Murray's "Handbook," laments the degradation of the abode of kings to its present uses. "This castle," the historian cries, "which has sheltered so many kings, which has witnessed so many wonders and so much luxury—itself a wonder and a splendour—is now merely an asylum for infirm old age, a beggar's refuge, a *dépôt de mendicité*." The occasion for a little fine writing is not thrown away. To have been so great, and to be so poor and wretched: to have echoed with silver laughter from the musical throats of princesses, and be heavy with the sadness of the sweepings of the Paris streets! Where royal limbs reposed, the crooked spine of some famished old man is stretched. The diadem of yore is replaced by the cotton nightcap! Villers-Cotterêts lives peaceably on the cud of its richness of old ; and has no industry, as my table companion at the Hôtel du Dauphin laughingly said to me—"No industry whatever, except the *Depôt* of Mendicity."

Certainly the townsfolk have not advanced in water-carrying, since they have only a pole fixed, one end to an axle of two little wheels, and the other to a man's shoulder, on the mid-point of which an immense bucket is slung still ; as they

had when the Cossacks were pillaging their homes. Perhaps it is in gratitude they hold to this primitive engine, since it was to its rumbling along a by-street that they owed their deliverance, the enemy having mistaken the noise for the distant roll of French drums. This and the horseshoe-shaped tread are the points of observation I made on my way past the old tower fountain on the *place* to the ancient château of the Duke of Valois, by which, upon a rubbish heap, lay the faded church decorations of the *mois de Marie*. Haymaking was going forward in the park and public resort under the castle walls, making a dainty pastoral scene, on which the hum of the merry beggars within was distinctly audible. The proportions of the ancient château—the proud, lofty towers and massive walls—are intact, but robbed of their symmetry by the juxtaposition of wards, and *salles*, and *buanderie*, to meet the convenience of the present inmates. Looking from the windows of one of the towers, however, the visitor may conjure up (if the old ladies will be quiet for one moment) the hunting days of yore, and people the long, straight avenues—partings of the “forest-hair”—that stretch to the blue distance with the stalwart men of old who hunted the savage beasts of the forest of Retz.

The low line of buildings which front the street, and are opposite a noisy *école primaire*, recall the mind peremptorily to the present uses of the château.

Under the gateway flag the place is inscribed "*Dépôt de Mendicité de la Seine*," and old men in hodden grey, topped with queer-peaked caps, are round about. A gay cripple, flourishing a cane, hobbles in, while I am speaking with the *concierge*—one of those elderly Frenchwomen who bear age as though all the hours to come would laugh still with the laughing days of youth. I had glimpses of the spacious outer court, franked with *parterres* of flowers, and the grey inmates moving hither and thither. "Certainly," the sprightly *concierge* said, ceasing from the preparation of her vegetables, "I should see monsieur the director at once, if I would follow her." The stack of buildings to the right of the entrance was the offices and dwelling-place of the governor of the time-begone beggars of the Seine. I found him in his *salle-à-manger*—a cordial, bright, kindly gentleman. And he at once set out with me to the entrance of the inner court and range of buildings; where I was formally introduced to the second in command, with instructions that he should show me—everything.

My guide could not understand that I had come to see the present inmates, and was grieved that I would not submit to be led to the sculptured staircases and other relics of the splendour of Francis the First's time amid which the beggars lived. As we mounted the grand staircase he pointed almost pathetically to the richly-sculptured ceiling. In



strange contrast is the place even now, disfigured and transformed, with its present destination. The fine open galleries, the great rooms timbered to the strength of Stonehenge, the palatial spaciousness of the inner courtyard, the broad views of illimitable forest and park from the windows, tell the old story of the place so vividly that the imagination is bewildered and oppressed, while the guide tells his tale : that there are eighty-two beds in this dormitory, that the infirmaries are so full that beds for the sick have been made up in some of the smaller sleeping-rooms, and that it is the day for the distribution of the linen.

Unlike the St. Denis dépôt, that of Villers-Cotterêts is, in all essential respects, well adapted for its actual purpose. It houses 900 inmates healthily, in air that is strengthened and sweetened by the great forest around it. The dormitories are admirably arranged, with windows on both sides—whence the poor men and women can survey a scene of ever-changing beauty. While the director (who soon rejoined us, anxious to do the honours of his castle of rags himself) was pointing out the delights of the landscape to be seen from different windows, helped in the infirmaries by the gentle sisters, I travelled back to a poor-house I had lighted upon many years ago, by the village of Herne, in Kent. It was upon a slope fronting the swell and dimpling of an ancient park, to which it turned blank walls,

it having been decided that paupers should not be permitted the luxury of an out-look. I was with my father when we came upon the monster wickedness, and it worked his impetuous nature into a passion in a moment. He bade me sit and sketch it; and he described it in his magazine in burning words, under my feeble illustration. That Kentish workhouse represents the spirit of the English Poor-law—the minimum of relief to get the maximum of repression; and this royal château, set anew, to be the beggar's antechamber of death, with the director putting the infirmary curtain aside to show me the three main avenues of the forest, and saying to the poor women on his way ever and anon, “*Bonjour, mesdames,*” and touching his cap at the entrance to each ward, embodies the spirit of the *Assistance Publique* of France.

The Depot of Villers-Cotterêts is in no sense a prison, the director was careful to make me understand. It is strictly a *maison hospitalière*, a roof offered by the State to the broken waifs and strays of society, as a last resource. Its inmates are not worn-out beggars only. When the Paris asylums of the *Assistance Publique* are full, and M. Husson has urgent cases on hand, the Prefecture puts the vacant beds of the château at his disposal. The disabled, as well as the aged, are gathered to this retreat. But they remain free agents. They can leave at their own pleasure. They are guests, not

prisoners, of the State. There is a little work for them to do, but they are nearly all too old to do more than pick a handful of lint for the hospitals. There were tailors' and shoemakers' workshops, even weavers' sheds, in the old time—that is, soon after the château was, according to Murray, “degraded” to its present use (1808)—but these have fallen into disuse. The men are past employ. Many of them, shambling about the open galleries with the pipkins in which they carry their rations trembling in their nerveless hands, are little more than mummies of men; and their poor dim eyes wearily follow the stranger who crosses their path, seeming incapable of taking in the figure.

The old women in the work-rooms where the lint-picking and a make-show of rough needlework were proceeding, were near the last stitch, the final lint-rag; and many were dozing the hours away against the walls, upon which are to be seen scraps of the gold traceries of the gala days gone by. Some forty of the inmates who have a remnant of strength left are permitted to go daily into the town to work, the proceeds of their labour being taken by the administration. Part of the money is devoted to their keep; part to a reserve fund, to be handed over to them should they elect, at any time, to leave the château; and part (about fifteen centimes) being handed over to them for pocket-money. These out-door workers are, however, poor fellows of ex-

ceptional power, as a peep into the low room where the men assemble to eat or chatter speedily proves. Why will pictorial students of character not find their way to a room like this? Every head is a study; and the attitudes and composition of the groups of talkers and eaters and preparers of food are full of suggestion. The crutches lie in all directions. One eager old man—an humble epicure—is slicing his bread (of which each inmate not in the infirmary has 600 grammes of brown quality and 125 of white per diem) into his little *gamelle*, and promises himself, if his expression of pleasure mean anything, a culinary treat. Another, sadly looking at the sky, is slowly munching as though it were hardly worth the trouble now to masticate and digest. There is laughter, and there is noisy talk: and there is no overlooking; for the old men are guests of the State. They have an open walking-ground which lies beyond the common room, within the castle walls; and it is graced with flower-beds that are well kept, in part by the old men themselves. I found many washing their spoons at the base of one of the castle towers—making more clatter with their wooden *sabots* than with their tongues. Others were walking gravely up and down in pairs, talking. Our party was welcome among them. Throughout our tour, I never saw an angry eye turned upon the governor; but many that bright-

ened, and many old men and women who pushed forward to wish him good day. This good feeling prevailed among the inmates themselves. Surely the kind treatment of the officials goes far towards harmony among these 900 wretched men and women, living their last days under one roof. In one of the galleries we came upon a lame man leading a blind mate—the two chattering pleasantly together; the lame man doing his friendly service with a look of proud satisfaction.

The quaintest picture within the castle walls was the inner court-yard, between twelve and one o'clock; when the husbands and wives, and male and female relatives whom unkind fate had reduced together to the plight of utter mendicancy, were permitted to mingle, and eat their mid-day meal together. I have seen some of Gustave Doré's sketches of Spanish poor and beggars in, or by, Spanish refuges; and they are full of various character and special picturesqueness. But none of them have the completeness of the picture which the mendicants of the Seine make, between noon and one o'clock daily, when they meet in the old château court-yard, and crouch against the sunny walls, knee to knee, to break bread and gossip. Gayer folk I have seldom seen wearing, mostly, three-score years and ten!

It is only at this hour they meet, save on Sundays, when they are privileged to go out together.

Tuesday is the men's day out, and Wednesday that of the women. In order to justly appreciate the *régime* of Villers-Cotterêts, the visitor must regard it as the French equivalent for the English poor-house infirmary, for all the inmates are past serious exertion, and a very large proportion of them are wholly disabled, and *font antichambre* at the gates of death. The cleanliness, order, humanity, cheerfulness, and gentleness which compose the moral atmosphere of the place, are combined with an exact strictness in the observance of the rules. Again I have to remark that the executants of the rules are men of finer sensibilities and higher culture than the men and women who are put about our poor. We may build asylums, but I fear it will be a long time before we shall be able to show the counterpart of the Villers-Cotterêts Dépôt, and before we shall see a refuge master looking kindly upon groups of old crones taken from the streets of Paris, cultivating their little gardens, and asking his visitors, "Is not this perfect? But I wish they would allow us a bit more of the park."

The dietary scale of Villers-Cotterêts is that of St. Denis, and is, with the addition of slight indulgences, based on the *cahier des charges* of the Seine prisons. The bread is distributed at eight o'clock in the morning; and the soup, meat, &c., at ten and five. There is a canteen within the castle walls, where the inmates can buy little luxuries at

the lowest prices. Each inmate deposits his clothes, and takes those of the dépôt on entering ; but he can resume his own dress (if wearable) whenever he walks abroad, or when he chooses to leave.

As I was leaving, the director begged my attention to his garden, ablaze with flowers of many colours ; and he offered me a rose by way of parting gift. There were flowers, by the way, in some of the infirmaries, to please the sight of the sick.

A new organ for the church had reached the day before my visit, and as we were passing into the noble sculptured room which was the chapel of Francis I., and is now a beggars' sick chamber, its tones swelled through the galleries with most impressive effect, while the director spoke gently with the sufferers spread in rows upon so many death-beds ! Charity had thus softly laid the beggar's staff in the King's chapel.

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## CHAPTER XIV.

## THE MAD WORLD.

THE condition of Bicêtre and La Salpêtrière at the end of the last century, and even into the first years of this, has been described by La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt (to whose enlightened, methodical philanthropy France owes an incalculable debt of gratitude), Tenon, Pariset, and others ; and nothing in the pages of the most sensational romance-writer could exceed the terrors of the dungeons in which the mad men and women reputed incurable (and therefore ineligible to be one of the four in the bed of the Hôtel Dieu) were thrust. The madman was treated as a savage beast, to be caged and terrified, and loaded with chains. The honour of having attempted to impress the public with the duty of a more humane view is due, in the first instance, to MM. Cousin, Thouret, and Cabanis, who in 1791 were charged with the government of the asylums of Paris, apart from that of the old



Hôtel Dieu. They lessened the horror of the madman's cell, with the assistance of the humane and accomplished Pinel, whom they placed at the head of affairs in Bicêtre. Pinel and his faithful assistant Pussin worked hard for two years; and then Pinel passed to La Salpêtrière on his mission of mercy. These gentle-hearted reformers laboured with a will; but so great was the work left to them by the brutality and ignorance of the old *régime*, that they passed away leaving many deplorable evils still to be remedied. It was only when the new Assistance *régime* was instituted in 1801 that reforms became general, and that the dens in which the mad were confined were vigorously suppressed. The last were swept away as recently as 1807.\*

A writer on the Assistance establishments of Paris (who was an administrator also), in a report published in 1822, has described the scene of the labours on which the new Council-General of Asylums entered. Although Cousin, Thouret, Cabanis, Pinel, Pussin, and other real philanthropic scientific men had been at work earnestly, the mad were found at the Petites Maisons, Bicêtre, and the Sal-

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\* The deaf and dumb were, in the old time, treated on the same level with the mad, and were denied the rights of citizenship. M. Péréire, a Spaniard settled in France, was the first to teach the deaf and dumb in France; and was officially encouraged in 1749 by the Academy of Science. Louis XV. rewarded his humane services with a pension.

pétrière, in dens “in which the commonest animal in the King’s garden would not be caged,” and in some cases loaded with chains, the sound of which could be heard at a distance. The new Council had the fetters struck from hands and feet ; ordered pure air into the dungeons ; gave something like liberty to the half-stifled and crippled creatures, and were not long in showing proofs that the new *régime* was the curative as well as the Christian one.

When the sick and valid poor, under the new Council, were properly classed and parted for the first time, the mad were removed from the Hôtel Dieu, and from the asylums where there was no proper special provision for them, to Charenton. Here they were put under mild and systematic treatment, the Assistance of the City paying one franc and a half per patient, daily, to the Charenton authorities.

Later two separate and extensive establishments for the indigent mad were constructed and laid out—one for women at the Salpêtrière and one for men at Bicêtre. These are the establishments to which I referred in my last letter, and which, down to the present time, receive the mad poor of Paris. The writer to whose report I have referred sets forth the plan on which the Bicêtre and Salpêtrière mad establishments were formed, and they retain, at this time, all their main outlines. The buildings and grounds for the mad at Bicêtre were laid

out in 1806 ; but the new buildings at La Salpêtrière were not constructed before 1814. There had been, in connection with both these immense establishments for the aged poor, a broad extent of land devoted to the cultivation of vegetables for the inmates and for the hospitals. Part of this land was, under the new *régime*, planted out into the open squares that now exist, in which the men who are not violent are to be seen on fine days wandering by the score under the trees, lying upon the ground, or sprawling upon the benches, or strapped to seats. The mad were classed by the new authorities into five sections, viz., 1, the tractable and incurable ; 2, the violent ; 3, the sick ; 4, those under special treatment ; and 5, the convalescent. There are five blocks of buildings at Bicêtre and at La Salpêtrière, each block being devoted to a section. The experiment which was made of placing the tractable insane to sleep in wards proved a great success ; and in every section rapid changes for the better in the patients followed the destruction of such ranges of noisome holes as those known at Bicêtre as La Chapelle, and at the Salpêtrière as the Basses-Loges. The old Bicêtre cells were lighted by a little hole over the door, so small that it was difficult to thrust food through it to the unhappy wretch within. A plank or two fastened to the wall, covered with straw, was the bed ; and the inmate, so small was his prison, could not lie

down without touching the wet stone walls with head and feet and back. The mad women were even more cruelly used ; for the Basses-Loges were on a level with the sewers, and when the Seine rose to an unusual height, troops of big sewer-rats took refuge in them. The attendants on their morning rounds, it is related, not unfrequently found poor mad women with their feet and shoulders and faces hideously wounded by their rapacious visitors of the night. In 1823 the Poor-law administrator, whom I have already quoted, confessed that at Bicêtre some of the old cells were still used, albeit with proper attention to ventilation and cleanliness, and doors opened in the daytime.

When once the great value of a humane treatment of insanity was established by irrefutable experience, the Assistance authorities incessantly worked still further to improve their establishments for the mad. When the new ranges of building were made at Bicêtre, with an open gallery supported by stone colonnades, affording a protected open-air walk in bad weather, and a closed promenade heated for the winter months, it was observed that never down to that time had the idea of warming madmen been entertained. It was an advance in humanity that astonished many, when the new governors of Bicêtre caused apparatus to be constructed by which, in the winter, currents of warm air could be made to

flow through madmen's cells. The Salpêtrière buildings, which are in parallel lines like those of Bicêtre, are likewise provided with an open gallery, where the mad women can take the fresh air in wet weather, or shelter from the heat; with baths, and, indeed, in orderly fashion, with all the requirements for healthy life.

Since 1823 the Assistance Publique of Paris have been working at improvements in their old establishments; always hoping for the time when Government would resolutely take up the question of the indigent insane, and devise some plan for treating them apart from the rest of the pauper population. They could but reiterate a prayer uttered as far back as 1791 by La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt. The bare enumeration of the progress which the Assistance has been able to make at Bicêtre and at the Salpêtrière is most interesting.

From 1823 to 1838 the destruction of the old dark and noisome cells was proceeding, and companies of the Bicêtre mad folk were drafted to divers works on the farm of Sainte-Anne, which had been set apart for the convalescent in 1832. At the Salpêtrière the idiot and tractably insane women were set to work on the courts and gardens, and in the laundry. Within this period it was resolved, in order to stimulate the mad men who could work, to pay them for their labour. At Bicêtre many of the mad patients were turned to work in the vege-

table gardens, while at the Salpêtrière work-rooms were built for the incurably mad women. In 1840 the separation of the incurable from the curable was abolished, as a bad demarcation, hurtful to the patients. By glancing down the chronological table of progress we can see how each step, in obedience to the law of kindness, had carried with it a new conviction of the efficacy of this law, to the medical and the administrative mind. Mad schools for the adult, and for the poor little imbecile children, were set up at Bicêtre, and then, by degrees, the curative influences of music, of song, of art, and of spectacular amusements, were admitted and tried.

Between 1834 and 1852 a line of progress was steadily followed. It was the custom to drag mad creatures to their prison under an escort of *gendarmes*: they were, in short, treated in all respects like malefactors. The *gendarmes* were sent to the right about, and the poor patients were conveyed in *diligences* specially constructed for the purpose. In 1844 companies of the indigent insane of Paris were first drafted to provincial asylums. Between 1842 and 1843 the insane children were put in a building apart at Bicêtre. All this time improvements were carried forward at the mad-farm of Sainte-Anne.

As the new ideas in regard to the treatment of insanity grew, little changes that were even affect-

ing to think upon, because their contrast with the old brutal plan was so vivid, were devised. The new men not only struck the fetters from the limbs of their patients in the modern sleeping-places that replaced the old dungeons, but even the appearance of a lock to the sensitive sight of the mad was guarded against. The tractable were brought out to eat and amuse themselves, and enjoy themselves in common; and varieties of work and workshops were found for every class. Even their clothing was improved, and the humane Assistance administrators prayed the Government to give their mad summer wear. A gymnasium was introduced for the idiot children.

I find this note in the Chronological List (1853). "The administration, after having compared the methods of coercion used on the insane, in France, England, and Germany, conclude that theirs are the most rational, and the best." It should be remarked that, in proportion as the rigour of coercion was lessened, the *personnel* has increased. Between 1843 and 1852, fourteen keepers or servants were added to the Bicêtre staff, and seventeen to that of La Salpêtrière. Again, in 1853, the Salpêtrière attendants were increased by six. In this year, it is also to be noted that the work performed by the patients was double that of the preceding year; and in 1854, it is recorded that half the insane inmates were at work. M. Husson makes a comparative

note, under 1855, on the indigent insane in France and England. The cost of the staff in the English asylums is reckoned at twenty per cent. of the total cost; whereas that of Bicêtre is a fraction over thirteen, and of the Salpêtrière something over nine. "We conclude from this," M. Husson observed, "that our administration of the insane is, by far, the more economical of the two."

In 1859 the walking-grounds of the quiet and of the agitated patients were separated; and in the same year two organs were built to divert the mad people of the Salpêtrière. In 1860, the Assistance administrators made one or two important advances in their main plan. In the first place, they directed the governors of the departmental asylums to which they drafted indigent mad patients from Paris to remit them a note on the state of each case, for the information of the patient's family. Again, arrangements were made by which the epileptic poor were allowed to go out with their friends or relatives under fair conditions of security. In 1861 a vast nursery-ground was laid out at Bicêtre, to give profitable employment to the insane inmates; and in the following year the administrators carried the measure for which they prayed in 1846, viz. that their poor clients should have light clothing in the summer months. Between 1863 and 1866, the governors of Bicêtre and La Salpêtrière were enabled, while reorganizing their adult schools for



the mad, to show decided marks of good done by teaching the idiot children. Lastly, they record that the health of their patients has been improved by the use of spring-mattresses instead of straw.

It was with very pardonable pride that M. Husson drew up a record of the half century of noble efforts made by his administration for improving the treatment of the class of patients that bespeak human pity more than any other, before he handed over the future government of the indigent insane of Paris to the Préfecture of the Seine, whence no report has yet issued. If, he says, in parting from the mad asylums of Bicêtre and La Salpêtrière, they do not exhibit all the learned improvements which are apparent in recently constructed mad-houses, perfect order and perfect cleanliness reign throughout them. The insane are provided with work, with amusements, and with every influence that can subdue their malady. They have the advantage of a watchful and sympathetic staff of medical men and attendants. Free as they possibly can be from restraints, they are busy in the workshops, or are left to take exercise in pleasant plantations. Peace and quiet are upon the scene; and it may be said that the very utmost which intelligence and learning could do with indifferent sites and old foundations has been done. But this is not all. A special service was instituted under M. Husson's reign, which is of the first consequence. An account

is kept of everything belonging to each insane inmate, and it is strictly watched and regulated, each day's earnings being added, so that the exact due of any patient can be told at a moment's notice. When M. Husson gave up the charge of this section of the Poor Relief, he estimated the belongings of his mad-folk at one million of francs. At the same time, searching investigations are made into the origin of the mad who are carried to these public asylums, and each department is made to receive those who belong to it, while foreign countries are summoned to assume the care of the subjects belonging to them. Families, again, who have the means of contributing towards the support of an insane member, are compelled to contribute to the cost of his keep and treatment. This latter section of administration has been in operation since 1841. Its importance is shown by the statement that, between 1841 and the end of 1866, 3,318 insane patients were sent home to their departments, or their native country, from the two public Paris establishments. The sums recovered from parents and guardians, &c., during the above time amounted to about 154,000*l*. But the amounts recovered in this way have been for years, M. Husson remarks, on the decrease.

The lawsuit of the Princess de Beauveau and the activities and experiences of M. Garsonnet drew public attention in France, some years ago, to the

law governing the custody of mad folk as well as to the systems of treatment to which these are subject in departmental and private asylums. The case of the Princess was insisted upon by those who clamoured for a reform, with M. Garsonnet. M. Garsonnet's own case was, moreover, brought forward in support of the reformers, who submitted this sad fact for the contemplation of Frenchmen, viz. that there were at that moment 32,000 of their countrymen under restraint as insane; and that under the existing law, by the defects of which the Princess and M. Garsonnet were notable sufferers, there might be thousands of these prisoners who were as sane as M. Rouher. M. Garsonnet, having felt the sting of the bad law which he denounced, whipped his persecutors with a knotty thong; and was heard before a jury of the Commission des Aliénés, over which Senator Boudet presided. The case of M. Garsonnet was an extraordinary one. He was a professor in a little provincial town in 1842, when a quarrel was raging between the French clergy and the College of France. The young professor took the anti-clerical view in the local press; the Bishop of the diocese complained to the Minister of Public Instruction, M. Villemain; and hereupon M. Garsonnet fled to Paris, to save his place. In his excitement he had a violent scene with the Grand Master of the University; so violent, we are told, that the servants said he must be mad. Having spoken his

mind in the morning, M. Garsonnet felt relieved ; and in the evening he repaired to the Opera with a friend, and thence tranquilly to bed. In the morning he was arrested, and carried off to a mad-house. M. Villemain, it should be observed, knew nothing whatever of this seizure ; but it happened unfortunately for the victim that the great man who had a filial affection for him, M. Royer-Collard, held strong opinions on the subject of insanity. He decided that a young professor who would beard a Minister in his sanctum must be mad ; and he ordered that his *protégé* should be put under lock and key at once. The well-known Dr. Audeal protested, and was answered that the right of advising his father-in-law, Royer-Collard, was not among the privileges in his possession. The doctor, however, declined to sign the certificate ; but M. Ferrus, one of the authors of the law in force, signed readily, and M. Garsonnet was put among madmen ! Once under lock and key, his gaoler, Royer-Collard, was most attentive to the poor professor, sending him fine linen, the works of Seneca and Livy, and the “ Confessions of St. Augustine ! ” During two months M. Garsonnet was incarcerated. M. Royer-Collard summoned the patient’s father, and bade him pray to God for his son’s death, for his madness was incurable. Fortunately, young Garsonnet’s sanity was proof even against the vindictiveness and stubbornness of his patron’s

mania ; and a friend (the father of the actor Got) was, happily, the means of extricating him. As he left his prison M. Garsonnet vowed that he would live to destroy it ; and to this end he heartily belaboured the system, by which also the Princess de Beauveau suffered, and from which she emancipated herself by proving that she possessed much more than an average human share of clear intelligence.

M. Husson's reports invariably record an increase in the mad population of Bicêtre and the Salpêtrière. In these two establishments the numbers in 1865 were 4,588 ; and in 1866, the last year for which an official return has been issued, 4,687. Giving the expense of the pauper mad of the Seine for this latter year at £108,581, M. Husson noted that it exceeded the expense of the previous year by £4,561, and hereupon remarked : " This growth in the expenditure is explained by the progressive increase which we have unfortunately to record in the number of patients." It should be remembered that Bicêtre and the Salpêtrière do not house all the poor mad people of the metropolitan department. More than half the above annual expenditure went to departmental asylums, among which, as I have already noted, the mad poor, in excess of the conveniences in Paris, are distributed.

I remember that I was struck by the remark of the man who showed me over the mad yards and

wards of Bicêtre, that on certain days the "agitated" were all in a condition of extra agitation. All were violent. One or two would begin, and then the rest would become troublesome. And on the day when I walked through the yards they were unusually wild. The effect upon the mind was that of a rising storm. The beholder feels that although the witless creatures who are shouting, gesticulating, and mincing around him, although they take no direct heed of each other, are under a common influence, and have a pernicious effect one upon the other. I was looking at the very agitated men who were in an open place railed off from the rest, and were shouting at us, and thrusting their arms at us through the barrier: a sad sight to gaze upon indeed! A man whom I met in the outer yard as I crossed it with a keeper had followed me, explaining points to be observed in a quiet tone of voice and with a sedate manner. But while I was standing under a sheltered way, between the two yards, contemplating the agitated behind the railings, my quiet informant suddenly set up wild antics behind my back. The fever was caught, it seemed to me, by the sight of his unfortunate fellow-creatures who were more violent than he usually was, and had raved their way to the most agitated department. I have marked exactly the same rise and fall, and spread, of the mad storm in the open ground of the Salpêtrière.

The shout of one woman raised that of her neighbour. And this was particularly noticeable, as I think I have already observed, that the entrance of two strangers to talk with the female keeper, who was leisurely peeling an orange under a tree, heedless of the din, concentrated the hubbub, and had a most marked effect on the patients. Three or four tugged at my coat to command my attention. One chattered over the other; and the noise became fast and furious, until the female keeper, having finished her orange and her chat with my attendant, dispersed them. Meantime the storm of talking and shouting, the confusion of anger, and beseeching, and invective, and ribaldry had blown up by degrees in the room by the yard in which the very agitated and rebellious were massed. They had taken up the excitement from without; and when I got to the threshold the frenzy of the demented crowd made a deafening, bewildering hurricane of words. I recur to this experience in corroboration of my impression at Bicêtre, that infinite harm was done by putting the agitated within sight or hearing of the calm patients.

The French departmental lunatic asylums have been improved, following the progress I have described as having taken place in the two great Paris establishments for the insane poor; humane treatment has replaced the old cruel and savage *régime*: but we have yet to learn that the French

system as it is now in practice, even in the model asylums, is, as M. Husson believed, the best which human wisdom has devised; and that the only thing which can be done in England with the pauper mad is to mass them in extensive blocks of building.

While the French have been improving their treatment of the mad, the number of patients has steadily increased, as I have already noted, for some years past, nor is there anywhere to be seen a very encouraging proportion of cures. Mark the yearly increase for the department of the Seine since the beginning of the century.

From the 1st of January 1801 to the 31st of December 1810, the number of mad under treatment amounted to 5,416; from January 1811 to December 1820, to 8,373; from January 1821 to December 1830, to 10,714; and from January 1831 to December 1840, to 14,435. So that between 1801 and 1840 the numbers were almost trebled. The increase during the next ten years is even more startling. Between 1841 and 1850 the numbers reached 36,530. Again this number increased between 1851 and 1860 to 50,245. Since 1860 the numbers have steadily increased. In 1861 there were 6,266 mad poor; in 1862 the numbers were 6,437; in 1863 they were 6,669; in 1864 they were 6,877; in 1865 they were 7,234; and, in 1866, they had reached 7,728. So that in



the last year there were as many mad patients under treatment in the asylums of the department of the Seine as there were in ten years at the opening of the century. It is cheering to note, as an addition to this sad record, that the proportion of cures has been on the increase, although it will not bear comparison with other establishments, and that, as a consequence, M. Husson's declaration with regard to the places over which he has so long and honourably presided must be taken with several pinches of salt. I find that in the first four decades of the century the numbers of those that left the asylums rose from 1,936 to 3,302—4,279 to 7,432; whereas in 1866, of the 7,728 patients only 1,348 were discharged. The average yearly entrances from 1801 to 1810 were 447, and the discharges 193; for 1866 we find the average annual admissions are 2,543, and the average discharges 1,348.

When we come to the details of the year 1866, and put aside the doctrine of averages, we are met by a few remarkable facts. We find that during the year 2,445 patients were added to the 2,242 of older date, in the Salpêtrière and Bicêtre only; making a total of 4,687. And here is the result at the end of the year. As many as 1,313 left the asylums (I presume for provincial cure), 496 were discharged cured, and 680 died; leaving the numbers in the two metropolitan establishments on the 31st of December 1866 at 2,198, or 44 less

than at the beginning of the year. That the increase in the number of poor mad patients in the department of the Seine was 255 is the latest and most serious fact on which the final report of the Assistance department dwells. Of the patients in the two asylums at the end of 1866 only 239 were presumed to be curable ! I will add the causes of madness, so far as they could be ascertained, of the poor patients of 1866 :—

## PHYSICAL CAUSES.

|                             | Men. | Women. | Total. |
|-----------------------------|------|--------|--------|
| Drunkenness . . . .         | 300  | 43     | 343    |
| Age . . . . .               | 119  | 151    | 270    |
| Paralysis . . . . .         | 96   | 69     | 165    |
| Hereditary . . . . .        | 18   | 49     | 67     |
| Cerebral Congestion . .     | 42   | 19     | 61     |
| Fever . . . . .             | —    | 58     | 58     |
| Critical Time of Life . .   | —    | 49     | 49     |
| Excess of Work . . . .      | 37   | 5      | 42     |
| Results of various Maladies | —    | 39     | 39     |
| Debauchery . . . . .        | 15   | 21     | 36     |

## MORAL CAUSES.

|                          | Men. | Women. | Total. |
|--------------------------|------|--------|--------|
| Sorrow . . . . .         | 5    | 139    | 144    |
| Frights . . . . .        | 8    | 56     | 64     |
| Political Events . . . . | 30   | —      | 30     |
| Distress . . . . .       | 17   | 12     | 29     |
| Reverse of Fortune . . . | 9    | 17     | 26     |
| Religious Mania . . . .  | 12   | 11     | 23     |

At the head of the list of patients are those suffering from delirium tremens ; they are in numbers closely followed by those whose mind age has clouded, and the maniacs. Can it be well to mass people affected by causes so distinct and wide apart ?

Very much has been written about the mad colony of Gheel, where a system fundamenally opposed to those followed in other countries, and in other parts of Belgium, has been carried on with extraordinary success ; but the most striking parts of the lesson which Gheel can teach to the builders of barrack madhouses have escaped notice, or have not been duly dwelt upon. While the Belgians, who have been steady reformers of their mad-world government since the Baron d'Anethau's commission was appointed in 1842, have never failed in their official reports to commend the remarkable effects of the Gheel process of cure, they have been busy erecting and adapting asylums on the prevailing plan of massing under mild treatment. In the Statistical Report on Insanity in Belgium, by M. P. Lentz, director of the Belgian charitable institution, issued in 1863, he refers to the Ghent asylum built on the designs of Dr. Guislain, and finished in 1856, as "the model for institutions of its nature." It is one of the five Belgian asylums for the insane, the population of which exceeds 200. These five asylums

are : Saint-Julien, at Bruges, 322 inmates ; the Saint-Dominique and Saint-Michel, also at Bruges, 350 inmates ; the Asylum of the Sœurs Noires, at Sainte-Anne les Courtrai, 293 inmates ; and lastly, the model Ghent asylum, with 281 inmates. In these five great asylums, then, there are 1,246 indigent and pensioned insane. If we take the fluctuation in the numbers of Gheel mad colonists at the rate indicated by M. Lentz's report, we may safely calculate that the actual population is 1,000.\* If Dr. Guislain's method of treatment be the best which human knowledge and wisdom have devised, surely the better course would have been to enlarge the Ghent establishment and narrow the limits of the ancient commune's activity. As it is, it deals with one fifth of the mad population of Belgium. And yet this remarkable commune, which has always borne in my mind a close analogy to the French agricultural colony of Mettray, took its modern development in the reform made by M. de Pontécoulant, prefect of the Dyle, in 1803, which transferred the insane who were shut up in asylums in Brussels to Gheel. You will perceive that reform in the management of the insane took a vigorous step earlier in Brussels than in Paris ;

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\* I find that by a Royal decree dated November 9, 1865, the colony of Gheel is authorised to receive 1,000 insane patients, viz. 800 indigent, and 200 on payment according to the tariff.

and that the poor maniacs who were packed in horrible dens, in Brabant, were moved away to country homes and the happy influences of fresh air and home treatment, before the styes of Bicêtre and Salpêtrière had received their first sweeping. Since 1803 it has been the custom of the administrative authorities at Brussels who govern the lunacy of the kingdom, to send forth the pauper and poor mad from the confinement of the city to Gheel. The Gheel treatment is, by this perseverance, established as the best, the eulogy of the Guislain model house notwithstanding. "I have thought," said M. de Pontmartin, "that I was fulfilling a duty of humanity and of the position which I hold, in adapting to these unfortunates a refuge recommended by a long experience. Informed that the commune of Gheel, in the department of the Deux-Néthes, was a refuge open to these human infirmities, I transferred, in connection with the prefect of the department, the mad from the Brussels hospital to the village of Gheel, *where they enjoy a liberty which does not exclude the care their predicament requires.*"

Before the Revolution of 1789 there were 400 patients in the commune. M. de Pontécoulant's measure at once raised the number to nearly 500. In 1812 the numbers were 500, and in 1820 and 1821 they had fallen to 400. Thenceforward the numbers fluctuate, with the fluctuation of the increase of insanity in the kingdom ; but the same

of the commune is steadily maintained through all the official reports, and Brussels has never found any place so good, as Gheel for her insane, since humanity and economy first prompted M. de Pontécoulant to adopt it. I take the numbers for seven years. In 1839 the patients were 660 ; in 1841, 730 ; in 1852, 933 ; in 1854, 827 ; in 1856, 778 ; in 1858, 701 ; and in 1860, 800. The 800 patients consisted of 102 for whom friends provided, and 698 paupers ; of 409 men and 391 women.

It should be borne in mind that Gheel, like other maladministered places, has been the scene of disorders and recriminations, and official severities ; as when the *nourriciers* neglected their charges, and the authorities (in 1754) ordered them to keep their madmen bound, or locked up, or secured in some way, under penalties of heavy fines. Then again, when M. de Pontécoulant's example had been followed by various Belgian communes, all the weaknesses of divided and conflicting authority arose, each commune or town sending a separate and independent superintendent to look after its mad. The possibility and humane reason, however, of the Gheel plan were never brought in question ; and in 1838 the Communal College, with the burgomaster at their head, constituted themselves into a Watch Commission ; and under this Commission the delegates of Brussels, Namur, Louvain, Tirlemont, and

Malines were placed, so that a central authority had direct action, through the delegates, over every *nourricier*. In 1850 the component elements of the Superintending Commission were organized, with the governor of the province at its head, and including nominees of the National Government. Under the present administration of Gheel, any commune having twenty-five patients there may send a delegate to the meetings of the Commission; but he has only a consultative character. The Permanent Committee, issue of the General Commission, is in constant watchfulness over the due fulfilment of the laws and regulations which govern the colony; it places out the patients; pays the *nourriciers*, and protects every *protégé* against any possible imposition or ill-usage.\* The machinery is simple enough, by which the indigent insane of a capital and half-a-dozen provincial towns are taken out of mendicity depôts, refuges, and hospitals, and consigned, under sound supervision, to homes in the country. Compare it with the Department of the Seine, with its two crammed asylums, and its parcelling out of destitute madmen for whom room cannot be found, in the departmental mad-barracks. There are cases which are so bad they cannot be confided to the *nourriciers*, and for these

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\* "Loi et Règlements sur les Etablissements d'Aliénés et la Colonie de Gheel" is a volume of ninety-two solid pages, published by the King's Printer in Brussels.

infirmaries are provided. The new patient is first placed in one of these infirmaries to undergo medical observation, and that the doctor in whose section of the commune he will be placed may understand the nature of his madness. This infirmary, I may add, was built in 1859, by M. Pauli, who was the architect of the "model" at Ghent.

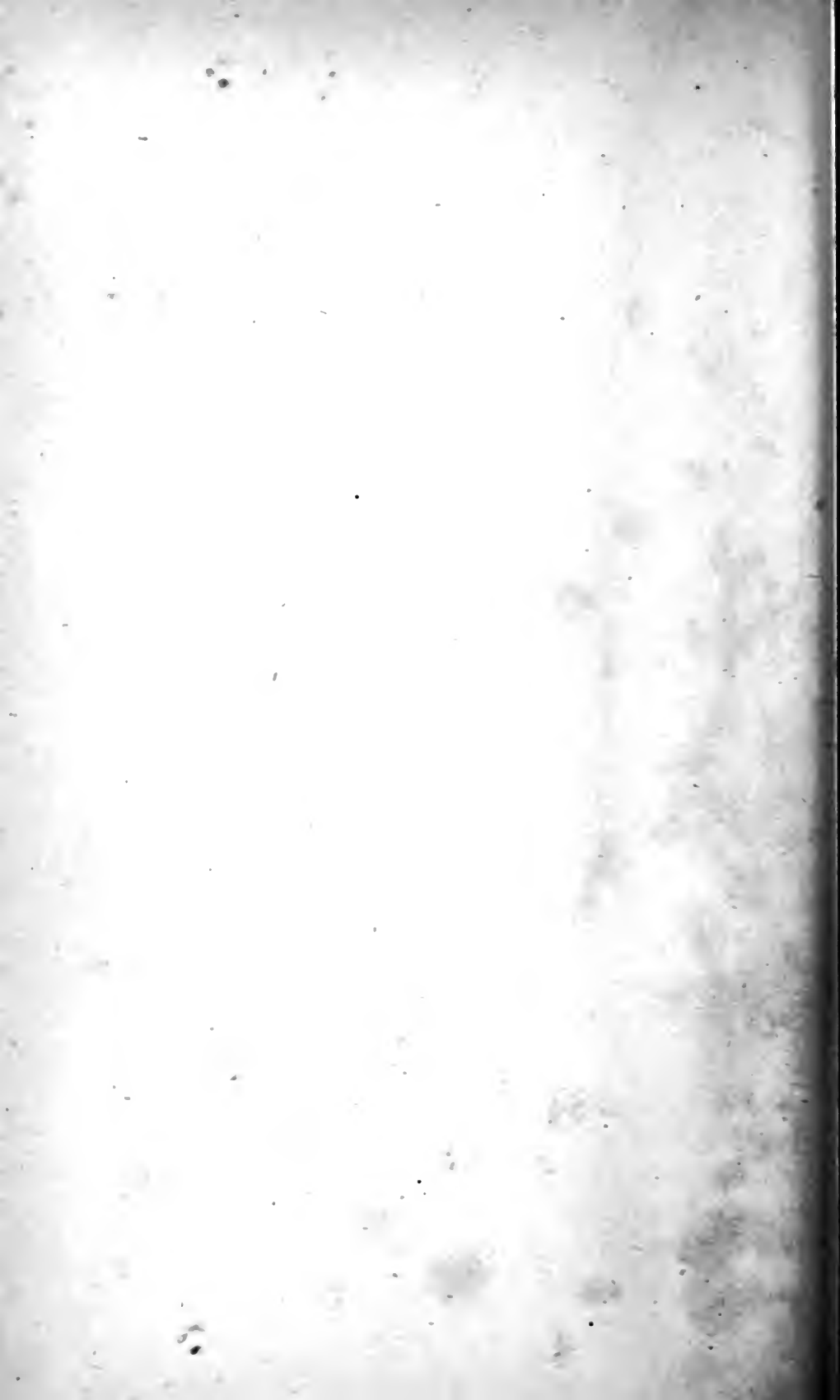
The lunatic asylums of Belgium, with the exception of Gheel and Froidmont, are divided into public and private establishments; the former being governed by the local Civil Asylums Commission, and the latter acting under the inspectorship of Government. There are fifty-two asylums in all. In 1853 the mad patients under treatment in Belgium numbered 4,054; in 1860 the numbers were 4,882, being 1 in 714 inhabitants. The average treatment of a patient lasts three years and one month, and the deaths are one in twelve.

Home treatment of the indigent insane is encouraged and helped in Belgium, under careful regulations for the general security. The consequence is that we find that of 2,851 town mad, 442 are kept in their homes; while the home-treated in country districts are 1,613, out of 3,377. This grand total of town and country mad is a score or so in excess of M. Lentz's estimate of the entire number in Belgium. He gives the cost of the mad



poor—without naming any particular establishment—as sixty-five centimes daily in the cheapest, and one franc forty centimes to fifty, in the dearest. I am quite sure Gheel is not the dearest, and I hope that my readers will be satisfied on the point.

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APPENDIX I.

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THE following are the General Regulations issued by the CENTRAL BODY OF THE ASSISTANCE PUBLIQUE OF PARIS, to the Bureaux de Bienfaisance, for their guidance:—

## 1.

The Bureau is composed of the Mayor, President by office; two Adjoints, presiding in the absence of the chief; twelve Administrators, chosen for four years by the Minister of the Interior, from a list of forty-eight candidates, half of whom are nominated by the Bureaux, and half by the director of the Assistance Publique. Connected with the Commissaires' and Ladies' Bureaux is a staff of Doctors, Surgeons, Sisters of Charity, and Midwives.

## 2.

The Administrators are renewed from year to year in sections of three; and are indefinitely re-eligible. All vacancies that occur in the course of the year from death, resignation, or dismissal, go to make up the quarter to be renewed at the end of the year.

## 3.

The election of candidates for a vacant post of Administrator is announced in the session immediately preceding that in which it will take place. The report of the session's proceedings bears in the margin the names, titles, and residences of the designated candidates. The Bureau votes by separate ballots in the case of each distinct candidate.

## 4.

The retiring Administrator has no voice in the election.

## 5.

Candidates for the post of Commissaire or Dame du Charité are present in the session immediately preceding that in which the election is to take place.

## 6.

The Doctors, Surgeons and Midwives are chosen by the Prefect from a triple list of candidates presented by the Bureau. The form of their nomination is identical with that prescribed for the election of Administrators, Commissaires, &c.

## 7.

The elections are secret. An absolute majority is necessary to the validity of the election. In the event of an equal division of votes, the President claims a casting-vote.

## 8.

The presence of seven members of the Bureau at least is requisite to constitute a deliberating and elective committee.

## 9.

The several branches of the Bureau's duties are entrusted to a Vice-President, a Secretary-Treasurer, a Manager, several Inspectors of Poor-houses and other establishments, Commissioners for the Adjudication of Relief, and one delegate at the Administration of the Assistance Publique. These officers are elected for one year by the Bureau, at the last sittings of December. They are exclusively chosen from the list of Administrators, and are always re-eligible. The Bureau reserves to itself the right to name—should circumstances require it—a second special delegate to the Administration of the Assistance Publique.

## 10.

The functions of the Vice-President consist in presiding at the sittings in the absence of the Mayor and the Adjoints, in aiding the President in the administration, and in sharing with him the duty of general surveillance.

## 11.

The functions of the Honorary Secretary-Treasurer consist in surveying the publication of the transactions of the sittings and the general correspondence; in attesting all necessary extracts from the transactions; in countersigning the resolutions of the Bureau, and directing the execution thereof; in verifying the demands for relief handed in by the Administrators; and in advising the Bureau as to their admission, adjournment, or rejection.

## 12.

The Manager's duties consist in signing, after due verification, all orders to pay, being guided in this by the

provisions of the budget, and by the approved orders of the Bureau; in casting-up the accounts of the Administration at least once a month; and in communicating the result to the Bureau; lastly, in supervising the books of the sub-agents, and in keeping note of the financial situation of the office.

## 13.

The Inspectors of the Poor-houses are required to regulate, in concert with the Lady Superiors, the interior service of these institutions, inasmuch as regards their moral order and physical well-being; to superintend the reception of the poor, the distribution of medicines, fuel, and other material succour; to provide for the preservation and timely renewal of the furniture placed at the disposition of the Sisters and the poor; to submit to the Bureau all the different accounts for this service; to verify all bills for services rendered or to be rendered; lastly, on emergencies, to authorise the disbursement of sums not exceeding ten francs.

## 14.

The Commissaires are called upon to supervise the lists of claimants for relief, to frame the advertisements and the official accounts of the proceedings of each session, inasmuch as concerns the adjudication of relief; to ascertain the good quality of the objects furnished by the purveyors of the Bureau; to superintend their reception at the Secretary's office, or their distribution among the out-lying depots; to regulate the tariff of prices for materials and labour; and, after verification, to authorise the payment for such work or wares. There are three Commissaires d'Adjudications.

## 15.

The Delegate to the Administration of the Assistance Publique represents the Bureau in all assemblies or conferences where an envoy is required.

## 16.

The service of in-door and out-door relief is divided into twelve territorial divisions (three for each of the four quarters of an arrondissement), each of which is entrusted to one of the twelve Administrators.

## 17.

The post of Secretary-Treasurer is incompatible with those of Manager and Inspector of Poor-houses.

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I.—ADMISSION TO RELIEF.

## 18.

Relief is only afforded to the indigent of French nationality resident in Paris during one year at least.

Foreigners are entitled to relief after a residence of ten consecutive years in Paris.

The possessor of an assured income of 250 francs and upwards has no claim to pauper's rights.

Inscriptions on the list of paupers are either permanent or temporary.

Comprised in the permanent inscriptions (green tickets) are the paupers who have attained the age of sixty-four, those incapacitated from labour by chronic and incurable disease.

## 19.

Temporary inscriptions are divided into two classes.

The first section comprises heads of families burdened with the maintenance of at least three children under the age of fourteen ; or with two children alone, in the case of widowers, widows, wives deserted by their husbands, and unmarried mothers ; orphans and deserted children up to the age of sixteen. After the age of fourteen, children incapacitated from labour are inscribed separately ; but the advantages to which they are entitled do not extend to their families. With regard to infirm children, under the age of fourteen, the families have a right to participate in all these advantages. Two brothers or sisters, a brother and sister living together, may be inscribed separately, if each of them fulfil the appointed conditions.

The admissions of this first section cease in effect when the particular circumstances which lead to their bestowal cease to exist.

## 20.

The second class of temporary inscriptions (yellow tickets) comprises the sick and wounded, women pregnant, and persons labouring under accidental and unforeseen distress. These inscriptions remain good for three months ; except in the case of wet-nurses, when they remain in force for one year.

The inscriptions are erased at the Secretary's office, unless the Bureau, on the proposition of the divisionary Administrators, concludes to accord a prolongation—which cannot, in any case, exceed the period of the first inscription.



## 21.

The formalities to be fulfilled by the pauper applicant are as follows :—

- 1st. He is required to produce an attested copy of the registry of his birth, which, should he not possess it, may be procured by the Administrator through the medium of the Mayor.
- 2nd. To verify his incapacity for labour, he is required to produce a certificate to that effect, emanating from a Medical Commission formed by three Doctors of the Bureau, who meet twice a month at the Secretary's office, under the presidency of an Administrator. Applicants come before this Commission provided with a ticket furnished by the Administrator of their Division. When the applicant is unable to appear in person before the Commission, the Doctor of his division, on the notification of the Administrator, ascertains and certifies the same to the Bureau.
- 3rd. Proof of the number of children supported by the applicant consists in the production of birth certificates, or in the simple attestation of the Administrator who presents the applicant.
- 4th. Residence in Paris is proved by the attestation of the Administrator.

## 22.

The report of a necessitous case is made by the Administrator of the quarter in which the pauper resides. This report is made on white tickets framed for the purpose. The divers formalities indicated on the ticket having been

scrupulously fulfilled, the report is signed by the Administrator, and handed in by him to the Secretary's office, at latest on the day preceding that on which the session will commence. This last rule refers to all applications for relief that require to be submitted to the consideration of the Bureau.

## 23.

The tickets are then verified by the Secretary-Treasurer, who reports on the case to the assembled Bureau.

## 24.

The inscription is invariably made in the name of the head of the family, even when the application is made in behalf of the wife or children.

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## II.—FORM OF RELIEF.

## 25.

The Bureau furnishes *bread* alone by monthly allowances to all families inscribed.

## 26.

To this effect, cheques entitling the holder to one kilogramme of white bread are issued every month to the several Administrators, in proportion to the extent of the pauper population committed to their charge. The Administrators allot to the Commissaires and Lady Visitors of their several divisions a number of cheques, in proportion to the number of families to be visited and relieved. The Commissaires and Lady Visitors remit the cheques to the poor in person, according to their apparent requirements. The Commissaires and Lady Visitors, should they think fit,

suspend or discontinue the donations, after having laid their reasons for the measure before the Administrator.

## 27.

The despatch of bread by the Secretary to the Administrators, and by the Administrators to the Commissaires and Lady Visitors, is in such wise that the distribution amongst the poor families may uniformly take place from the 1st to the 5th of each month. The Commissaires and Lady Visitors are required to keep the Administrators informed as to the deaths, departures, changes of dwelling, &c. of those families under their supervision. These changes are signalled to the Bureau by the Administrators.

## 28.

Relief in other form than that of bread is vouchsafed in particular cases, on the advice of the Administrators, Commissaires, Lady Visitors, Sisters of the Hospitals, or Doctors, as the case may be.

## 29.

A system of loans, called *centimes facultatifs*, is annually opened at the Secretary's office. The highest loan accorded is 1 franc per family. This sum is divided into four allocations, and distributed in the following degrees: 30 cents. for each of the quarters of October and January; and 20 cents. for those of April and July. Monetary relief is obtainable at the office of the Bureau on presentation of a cheque signed by the Administrator.

## 30.

Funds allotted by the Administration of the Assistance Publique are annually devoted to affording loans to sick

nursing mothers, or to those whose children are ill. No limit is fixed to the amount of these loans. They are delivered at the office of the Bureau on the production of a certificate signed by an Administrator, and emanating from him.

## 31.

Further sums are allotted by the Administration of the Assistance Publique, to be distributed in various sums to the sick poor nursed at home. Relief of this nature is accorded on the recommendation of the Administrators, and on production of a certificate signed by a Doctor of the Bureau, attesting the nature of the applicant's complaint, and stating the presumed time it will require to cure. After the announcement of the decision of the Bureau, a bond, prepared at the Secretary's office, is handed to the divisional Administrator, and by him remitted to the sick applicant. The bond is exchanged for money at the Treasurer's office.

## 32.

Sums are granted by the Administration of the Assistance Publique to be disbursed in relief to out-door patients nursed at home and arrived at a state of convalescence; this relief is resolved upon and effected in the same manner as that afforded to the pauper in the more serious stage of his malady.

## 33.

The varying income arising from private charity, and intended to be employed in a special manner, is disbursed in quarterly allotments to the Administrators of the divisions indicated by the donators. A proportionate share of these private liberalities may be obtained at the office of the Bureau on presentation of an Administrator's recommendation.

## 34.

On the representation of the Administrators, a dole of 10 francs may be accorded to poor persons about to marry, to go towards the necessary expenses of dress and furniture. This dole is chiefly established with a view to aid abandoned women in their rehabilitation, and in the legitimization of their children. The recommendation of the Administrators must be accompanied by a copy of the certificate which proves the accomplishment of the civil and religious ceremonies. This certificate is returned to the Administrator with the bond entitling the holder to the dole.

## 35.

All relief afforded by the Bureau in other form than that of clothing and furniture is distributed by cheques, a certain number of which are allotted, every month, two months, or quarter, to each division, according to their respective populations.

## 36.

Each division is provided with special funds for the purchase of those articles of clothing and furniture for which the Administrators issue their cheques. The price of these articles is regulated by a uniform tariff, fixed at the commencement of every year. The number of sets of child-bed linen to be distributed is fixed every year according to the average wants of each division. These sets are distributed by the different Relief Houses, and those which have not been used are returned to the dépôt at the end of the year.

## 37.

In addition to the bread-tickets vouchsafed them by the Administrators, the Lady Superiors of the Relief Houses are

accorded a certain percentage of all relief in food and fuel periodically distributed by the Bureau. Portions of soup, cooked and raw meat, and wood, are especially placed at the disposition of the Sister-Visitors, to be by them distributed among the pauper sick and convalescent, and to poor women in child-birth.

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### SPECIAL RELIEF.

#### 38.

Special doles of money are allowed by the Bureau to two classes of poor : the aged and the infirm.

Relief for the aged is awarded to six classes :—

Relief in the hospitals ;

To paupers of eighty-five years of age and upwards ;

To paupers of eighty-two                   "                   "

To paupers of seventy-nine               "               "

To those of seventy-four                 "                 "

And to those of seventy years.

Relief of invalids is divided into two classes, viz. the blind and the paralytic.

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### HOSPITAL RELIEF.

#### 39.

The system of relief called Hospital Relief is intended to afford aged paupers who may prefer it an equivalent to the bed they might have obtained in the regular hospitals. This relief consists in an annual allowance of 253 francs for men, and 195 francs for women, payable in instalments of 24 francs and 18 francs for each of the five winter months, and of 19 and 15 francs for the other months of the

year. This relief may be granted in part, or entire, according to the decision of the Bureau.

## 40.

Four conditions are imposed on all claimants for Hospital Relief, viz. :

The applicant must be born in France—or, at least, naturalised French ;

He must have lived in Paris ten consecutive years ;

He must possess furniture, or be established in his family ;

He must be seventy-four years old, at least, or, for applicants born in Paris, seventy-two.

The Administrator who presents the applicant must produce :

The extract of the candidate's registry of birth ;

A certificate of poverty ;

A certificate furnished by the Mayor, on the declaration of two Administrators, proving by the enumeration of the applicant's successive dwelling-places his residence of ten years in Paris: and, moreover, asserting the honesty and morality of his general conduct.

## 41.

Persons admitted to Hospital Relief cease from that moment to receive all other forms of relief—except in the case of illness, when medicine is furnished gratis. The recipient of Hospital Relief who enters a regular hospital to be nursed, has a right, during the first three months of his residence there, to half of his monthly allowance, which moiety is paid to his parents, or to the relations with whom he lived, or, if he lived alone, is reserved for his use on leaving the hospital. If the recipient remain in the hospital

longer than three months, his allowance is stopped for all the period exceeding that limit. On the death of a recipient of hospital relief, his allowance for the month in which the death took place is paid to his heirs ; but should the demise have occurred in the first fortnight of the month, but half of the usual allocation is accorded.

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#### SPECIAL RELIEF OF OCTOGENARIANS.

##### 42.

The special relief of octogenarians consists in a monthly allowance of 12 francs at the age of eighty-five ; of 10 francs at the age of eighty-two ; and 8 francs at seventy-nine. The conditions required of applicants for this special relief are identical with those to be fulfilled before admission to Hospital Relief, but with one exception : if the applicant has been inscribed on the pauper list two years, he need prove but five years' residence in Paris. Foreigners are admitted on these same conditions. The octogenarian must have appertained for three years to one class before he can pass into another and a higher. This passage from one class to another is effected at the Secretary's office of the Bureau, as also that from the septuagenarian list to the category of octogenarians.

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#### SPECIAL RELIEF OF SEPTUAGENARIANS.

##### 43.

The special relief of septuagenarians consists in a monthly allowance of 5 francs from the age of seventy. The mode of admission to this relief is the same as that prescribed for octogenarians. The number of old men of seventy and



and seventy-four to be admitted to this relief is fixed in each arrondissement by the Administrator of the Assistance Publique. A change of residence on the part of a recipient of special relief necessitates a new inscription at the offices of the arrondissement in which his new abode is situate. At seventy-four all recipients of the ordinary relief have a right to be admitted to the special class.

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#### SPECIAL RELIEF OF THE INFIRM.

##### 44.

Special relief of the blind and paralytic consists in a monthly allowance of 5 francs, to obtain which it is necessary, independently of the conditions to be fulfilled by applicants for the special relief of octogenarians, &c., to have been declared blind or paralysed in two limbs by a special committee of doctors at the Central Bureau, which assembles on the third Thursday of every month, and before which the candidates are sent with a signed ticket from the Administrators of their several divisions.

##### 45.

In all cases of admission to special relief the passed candidates can only begin to receive their allowance a month after the acknowledgment of their rights.

##### 46.

Hospital or special allowances of all kinds, are paid at the Bureau to the holders of tickets—distributed by the Secretary's office to the Administrators, and signed by them once a month.

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## THE MONTYON FOUNDATION.

47.

Adult paupers on leaving a hospital (excepting mothers who have abandoned their children, patients of madhouses and of the hospitals for venereal diseases), may, if they have remained at least five days at the institution, receive a certain donation from the private fund entitled the Montyon Foundation.

48.

To this effect a particular notice is transmitted from the Secretary's office to the Administrator of the pauper's division.

49.

The Administrator indicates on the same ticket the material or pecuniary aid he proposes to bestow upon the convalescent, who, on presentation of the ticket at the Bureau, receives the allowance. This allowance cannot, in any case, exceed the sum or value of 25 francs.

50.

Demands for supplementary aid must be submitted to the Bureau, and, when the allocation exceeds 25 francs, to the approbation of the Director of the Assistance Publique.

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RELIEF IN THE SCHOOLS.

51.

In accordance with the resolution of the Municipal Council of Paris, dated 27th January 1844, the Bureau allows a certain amount of clothing to the poor children of the free schools. The relief consists in blouses for the boys, and

dressess for the girls. These are distributed twice a year, at the times fixed by the Municipality.

## 52.

An annual sum of 5,000 francs is voted to cover the outlay thus entailed. The Mayor delivers to the Bureau a fortnight before the time fixed upon for the distribution, a list of the children to whom the relief is to be accorded. This list is compiled by the delegates of the Committee of the Canton; the Secretary-Treasurer transmits to each Administrator the names of the children of his division. During the week following this communication, the Administrators return to the Secretary an enumeration of the aid required for their several divisions. The amount of the distribution is definitely fixed by the Bureau, and the tickets are issued to the schools.

## 53.

The distribution of the tickets among the school children takes place on the same day as that of the rewards periodically vouchsafed by the civic authorities. The Administrators of the Bureau are entitled to assist at these distributions.

## 54.

The clothing thus awarded constitutes, at the same time, an aid and a recompense. The Principals of the free schools are required to place on the list only those children who, by good conduct and straitened circumstances, are entitled to charity and reward. The Administrators are, moreover, permitted to place on the list the names of children not attending the free schools.

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## RELIEF OF APPRENTICES.

55.

A fund of 3,000 francs is voted by the Bureau for the payment of the premiums of a certain number of good apprentices. Each division has a right to propose for this relief a certain number of poor children—annually fixed by the Bureau—on the proposition of a constituted commission, described under Art. 57.

56.

The conditions to be fulfilled by candidates for apprentices' relief are as follows:—

1st. The children must have followed constantly during a period of three years one of the free schools of the arrondissement, and must moreover be provided with a certificate of good conduct signed by the Principal of the School, and verified by the Delegate of the Canton.

2nd. Candidates are required to be aged twelve years, at least, and, if Catholic, to have been regularly confirmed.

Each child enjoys the apprentices' relief during three years.

57.

The establishment, surveillance, and assistance of the apprentices is entrusted to a permanent and special Committee, presided over by the Mayor. This Committee is divided into male and female sections.

The section for males is composed of an Administrator-Vice-President, and six Commissaires who visit the children and superintend their welfare.

The section for females is composed of an Administrator-Vice-President, the Lady Superiors of the four relief-houses, and six Lady Visitors who visit the children and enquire into their general condition.

## 58.

The presentation of candidates is made by each Administrator within the limit of the number of firms attributed to his division. The presentation made during the session of the Bureau is immediately forwarded by the Mayor to the proper section of the Examining Committee.

## 59.

The Commission enquires, firstly, if the child fulfils all the prescribed conditions. It is then seen if the proposed establishment is conducive to moral and professional training of the child. Circumstances seemingly incompatible with the purpose of the charity may be modified; or should the Master demur to the alteration, the Administrator is required to provide another establishment.

## 60.

Once in the enjoyment of apprentices' relief, the child is placed under the exclusive tutelage of the Commission. The relief accorded during the apprenticeship varies according to the age, sex, and profession of the child. It may consist in a fixed and periodical allowance, or in various successive donations, the nature and importance of which is fixed by the Commission according to the report of that one of its members to whom the special surveillance of the child has been entrusted. Relief can only be voted by the two sections of the Commission united. The donations are paid

at the Bureau on deliverance of a bulletin signed by the Mayor, and containing an extract from the proceedings of the Commission, certified by the Secretary.

## 61.

The Commission is required to see that the apprentices under its charge assemble regularly every Sunday, under safe guidance, to assist at prayers, hear Mass, &c. The Commission is moreover empowered to treat, with the approbation of the Bureau, with the principals of private Sunday schools, in order that the children may complete the education commenced by the free schools.

## 62.

The Commission renders quarterly account to the Bureau of the conduct and progress of the apprentices, of the outlay of the relief fund, and of the fulfilment of contracts by masters, &c. Every member of the Commission may assist at these communications.

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ADMISSION TO THE FREE HOSPITALS.

## 63.

To be admitted to one of the beds placed at the disposition of the Bureau by the Administration of the Assistance Publique, candidates must be born or naturalised French, and, moreover, fulfil the following conditions. They must—

- 1st. Be aged seventy, or afflicted with an infirmity incapacitating the sufferer from earning a livelihood ;
- 2nd. Have lived in Paris at least two years ;

3rd. Produce, together with the birth registry, a certificate of poverty bearing the enumeration of the candidate's residences in Paris, and an attestation of the uniform honesty and morality of his conduct.

Paupers afflicted with epilepsy, or contagious diseases, cannot be received in the hospitals for incurables. The Bureau reserves to itself the right of nominating a new occupant for a vacant bed in any one of the hospitals; but the Mayor, the two Adjoints, and the twelve Administrators may each in turn present a candidate.

M. Simonin Lalleman has founded thirty-three beds in the hospitals for incurables, to which he reserves to himself the right of nomination. Fourteen of these beds become, after a certain delay, the property of the Bureau of the 12th Arrondissement.

## 64.

Octogenarians of both sexes are received in the asylums for the aged.

Those afflicted with blindness, lunacy, epilepsy, or cancer are also received therein, on the following conditions:—

The blind, after one year's enjoyment of special relief;  
Sufferers from cancer and epilepsy, on presentation of a certificate signed by the Doctor of the Central Bureau stating the nature of their infirmity;

Lunatics, after enquiries by the Commissary of Police into the reality of their mental condition, according to the prescriptions of the law of the 30th June 1838.

These admissions are, moreover, only accorded to those who prove a residence of two years in Paris.

Epileptics and lunatics are, in view of a possible recovery, merely received temporarily.

## 65.

Independently of the relief in money or material, and of the several establishments heretofore enumerated, the Administrators may grant extraordinary certificates in the following cases:—

- 1st. Extraordinary relief to be obtained from the Administration of the Assistance Publique.
- 2nd. Deliverance of passport gratis, with or without journey-money.
- 3rd. Application of the law of the 10th December 1850, providing for the gratuitous furnishing of civil acts for the fulfilment of marriage formalities.
- 4th. Exemption from the costs of registry and succession.
- 5th. Remittance or diminution of taxes on licenses.
- 6th. Remittance or diminution of fines and penalties for breach of police acts.
- 7th. Gratuitous grants of police permissions to exercise the trade of broker, itinerant tinman and glazier, or of medals permitting the holder to sell in the public streets.
- 8th. Gratuitous verification of weights and measures.
- 9th. Gratuitous furnishing of civil acts for no special purpose but to satisfy private enquiry.
- 10th. Remittance, in certain cases, of effects belonging to near relations deceased in a hospital.
- 11th. Obtaining for old soldiers without pensions relief from the Ministry of War.



- 12th. Gratuitous burial when death has taken place at home, and diminution of expenses when it has occurred in a hospital, or when the family of the defunct desire to depart from the usual mode of burial at these institutions.
- 13th. Gratuitous distribution of belts, bandages, trusses, and other surgical apparatus, the demand for which is signified to the Bureau through the medium of the Doctor attached to each division. These objects are delivered at the Central Bureau at 10 o'clock on Mondays and Thursdays. They may be to individuals not inscribed in the official list of poor, when the Administrator has seen and declared a manifest inability to meet the expenses of their purchase.
- 14th. Distribution of the relief accorded by the "Mothers' Charitable Society," which society is founded for the purpose of aiding with money and clothing poor women legally married, in travail, and owning already three children under the age of twelve. Mothers who obtain this relief have no right to the baby-linen distributed by the Bureau.
- 15th. Loans of a spindle, spinning-wheel and flax to poor persons who can furnish guarantees, or produce the security of ten francs.

## 66.

Each Administrator is required to immediately inform the Bureau of the disappearance of cases of disease among the poor in his division. He is, moreover, called upon to report

every three months the changes of residence of the poor within his district.

## 67.

When a pauper leaves his division, the Administrator delivers to him the bulletin of inscription, with the change of residence indicated thereon, and requests him to present himself at the Secretary's office, where, after registration, his ulterior destination is indicated.

## 68.

Poor persons passing from one division to another receive the official allowance in their new division from the first day of the month following the remittance of their bulletin to the Administrator.

## 69.

A collection for the poor is made four times a year in the churches of the arrondissement by each Administrator in turn. The attribution of the different churches is drawn by lot. The designated Administrator, should he be unable to make the collection, must appoint a substitute.

## 70.

The Relief Houses are open for the reception of the poor from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m. in winter, and from 6 a.m. to 8 p.m. in summer.

## 71.

The Administrators, Commissaires and Lady-Visitors are called upon to see that the children of the poor are vaccinated, and follow regularly the classes of the free schools.

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APPENDIX II.

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THE REGULATIONS UNDER WHICH OUT-DOOR RELIEF IS  
ADMINISTERED IN THE CITY OF PARIS.

## 1.

The out-door relief service in each of the arrondissements of Paris is specially confided to a Bureau de Bienfaisance.

## 2.

The Bureaux are placed under the authority of the Prefect of the Seine. They are managed by the responsible Director of the General Administration of the Assistance Publique.

## 3.

For composition of the Bureaux see Art. 1 of the GENERAL REGULATIONS.

## 4.

For enumeration of officials attached to each Bureau see Art. 1, *ibid.*

## 5.

For mode of appointment of Administrators see Arts. 1, 2, 3, 4, *ibid.*

## 6.

The Bureaux are renewed every four years, one-fourth of the members retiring each year. Retiring members are primarily chosen by lot, definitively by seniority.

## 7.

The vacancies that occur from death, resignation, or dismissal go to complete the quarter to be renewed at the end of the year.

## 8.

For re-eligibility, &c. of Administrators see Arts. 3, 4, Internal Dispositions of the Bureaux.

## 9.

For officers to be annually elected by assembled Bureaux see Art. 9, *ibid.*

## 10.

For election of Commissaires and Lady-Visitors see Art. 5, *ibid.*

## 11.

The Secretary-Treasurer is appointed by the Prefect of the Seine. He is salaried, and is required to furnish security for the satisfactory discharge of his duties. The clerks and under-clerks are also appointed by the Prefect of the Seine.

---

FUNCTIONS OF THE BUREAUX DE BIENFAISANCE.

## 12.

The functions of the Bureaux consist in (1) distributing or employing in various charitable works the sums placed at their disposition by the State or by individual beneficence ;

(2) in the surveillance of the divers charitable institutions maintained by them.

## 13.

The Mayor of the arrondissement is charged with the surveillance of the whole service of the Bureau.

His authority is pre-eminent over the administrative staff ;

He convokes the Bureau at least twice a month, and more frequently if necessary ;

He presides at the meeting of the Bureau ; in his absence the duty of presiding devolves on one of the Adjoints, or, in default of these, on the Vice-President elect.

The Mayor may, in a case of emergency, and after preliminary enquiries, cause to be delivered extraordinary relief, of which he renders an account in the next sitting to the assembled Bureau.

## 14.

For functions of Vice-President, Honorary Secretary, Manager, and Delegate, see Arts. 10, 11, 12, 15, Internal Dispositions of the Bureaux.

## 15.

The Commissioners and Lady-Visitors enquire into the situation, condition, and conduct of the candidates for relief, and report thereon to the Bureau ; visit the families in receipt of relief from the Bureau ; and keep the Administration informed as to the different changes and events in these families.

## 16.

For the duties and attributions of the Secretary-Treasurer, *vide* Art. 11, Internal Dispositions of the Bureaux.

## 17.

The funds and material belonging to the Bureau are under the sole charge of the Secretary-Treasurer.

## 18.

In general, the functions and responsibilities of the Secretary-Treasurer resemble those of the Managers of Hospitals. He is placed, however, under the supreme surveillance of the Mayor and Administrators.

## 19.

The President, the Administrators, and the Commissioners have no hand in the management of the funds. Consequently all payments are made by the Secretary-Treasurer, and receipts signed with his name.

## 20.

The Secretary-Treasurer can, in his own interest, suspend payment of drafts insufficiently attested, or which have been drawn on a fund previously exhausted, or, again, on one destined to other uses. The suspension of payment is immediately notified to the Manager, and should disputes arise therefrom the case is referred to the Director of the Assistance Publique.

## 21.

For mode of appointment of Surgeons and Doctors of the Bureau, *vide* Art. 6, Internal Dispositions of the Bureaux.

## 22.

Candidates for the post of Doctor or Surgeon of the Bureau must produce the diploma of a Doctor of Medicine.

## 23.

Doctors and surgeons must reside near to the quarters confided to their care. Those who have not conformed to this obligation three months after the date of their appointment, or who subsequently fix their residence at a distance without the authorisation of the Bureau, are regarded as having resigned.

## 24.

The functions of a Doctor of a Bureau are incompatible with those of Administrator.

## 25.

For mode of appointment of Midwives, see Art. 6, Internal Dispositions of the Bureaux.

## 26.

Doctors and Surgeons of the Bureau can only be dismissed by the Minister of the Interior, on the demand of the Bureau, or of the Director of the Assistance Publique, on the advice of the Council of Surveillance, and on the proposition of the Prefect of the Seine. But in an emergency, and on the demand of the Bureau or Director, the Prefect alone can decree a temporary suspension of the offending officer.

Midwives can be dismissed by the Prefect on the advice of the Council of Surveillance.

## 27.

For the times and manner of the assembling of the Bureau, *vide* Arts. 7 and 8 of Internal Dispositions of the Bureaux.

## 28.

In accordance with the dispositions of the first paragraph

of Article 9 of the Ministerial Resolution, dated 24th September 1831, a delegate of the Director of the Assistance Publique may, on occasion, assist at the meetings of the Bureaux. He will be heard should he think fit to speak.

## 29.

Each Bureau will hold, during the course of the month of May, one General Assembly, to which will be invited all the Commissaires, Lady-Visitors, Doctors, and Midwives attached to the Administration. At this meeting account will be given of the work of the preceding year, of the receipts and expenses of the service. The observations and proposals of those assisting at the meeting will be collected and forwarded to the Director of the Assistance Publique.

## 30.

Each arrondissement is divided into twelve districts.

## 31.

There are allotted to each Bureau as many Houses of Relief as the pauper population of the arrondissement may render expedient.

## 32.

The Administrators decide to which communities to apply for Sisters for the service of the Bureau.

## 33.

The Sisters may be charged by the Bureau with the distribution of special relief in material, but always with the participation and on the responsibility of the Secretary-Treasurer, to whom account is rendered of all furniture, clothing, &c. provided for the different Relief Houses.



34.

Officers of the Bureau de Bienfaisance are counted as public servants, and as such admissible to the Order of the Legion of Honour.

35.

After twenty years' service, the Administrators, Doctors, and Surgeons may receive from the Minister of the Interior, on the application of the Bureau to which they are attached, on the recommendation of the Director of the Assistance Publique, and on the proposition of the Prefect of the Seine, the rank and title of Honorary Administrator, Doctor, or Surgeon.

---

## CLAIMS TO RELIEF.

36.

For requisite residence of claimants in Paris, see Art. 18, Internal Dispositions of the Bureaux.

37.

For the two categories of relief, details as to circumstances entitling to inscription, see Arts. 18, 19, *ibid.*

38.

Infirmities, accidental hurts, and diseases are certified by the Doctor attached to the Bureau.

39.

A pauper cannot be admitted to relief if he has not justified the absence of his children from the free schools, or their non-vaccination.

---

## INSCRIPTION ON THE LIST OF PAUPERS.

40.

Admission to relief is obtained from the Assembled Bureau, on the report of a Special Commission, which examines the individual propositions of the Administrators, together with the personal applications of the poor.

41.

Each Bureau is provided with a Register, whereon the paupers admitted to relief are inscribed, under a uniform system of numbers.

42.

A three-fold bulletin is issued for each family admitted—one for the Secretary's office, the second for the Administrator of the division to which the family belongs, and the third for the Administration of the Assistance Publique.

43.

Independently of the Pauper List and of the bulletins, an alphabetical list of poor admitted is kept in each Bureau.

44.

When a pauper changes his residence without quitting the division, the Commissaires and Lady-Visitors inform the Administrator of the event, which is subsequently signified to the Secretary.

46.

For regulations respecting changes of division, see Arts. 66, 67, Internal Dispositions of the Bureaux.

47.

On the decease of a pauper father of a family, his widow and children, should they continue to fulfil the prescribed

conditions, are inscribed in the Official Registry under a new number and denomination.

48.

On the death or disappearance of a pauper, when the particular circumstances (mental or bodily infirmity, illness or poverty) cease to exist, when he has no longer the requisite number of children, or when it is ascertained that he puts to improper uses the relief accorded to him, his name is immediately erased from the list of his division.

49.

Within the first ten days of each month, the Secretary-Treasurer of each Bureau is required to report on the condition of the paupers in the arrondissement to the Administration of the Assistance Publique.

---

#### CENSUS OF THE PAUPER POPULATION.

50.

A census of the families inscribed in the several Bureaux de Bienfaisance is effected every three years by officials specially designated for this service by the Director of the Assistance Publique.

51.

The Bureaux are informed of the time at which the census will be made, that each one may appoint a delegate to superintend the operations.

52.

The census forms containing the information collected at the house of each pauper are forwarded to the several Administrators, who note therein the observations they may think fit to make.

53.

The forms are then submitted to the Delegates of the Bureaux, who propose the retention or erasure of the different names on the books of the Bureaux.

54.

The result of the census is submitted by the Director of the Assistance Publique to the approval of the Prefet de la Seine.

55.

The census will serve for three years as guide in the distribution of funds and effects among the several Bureaux de Bienfaisance.

56.

An annual census is made, in the same form, of the aged blind and paralysed admitted to special relief.

---

#### DISTRIBUTION OF RELIEF.

57.

The Administrators will seek to provide work for the able poor. To this effect they will maintain constant relations with the manufacturers and master-artisans of their respective divisions, and strive to obtain from them labour for the workmen out of employ.

For enumeration of work given to poor women, see Art. 65, Para. 15, Internal Dispositions of the Bureaux.

58.

The sums placed at the disposition of the different Bureaux are, as far as possible, to be applied to the purchase

of relief in kind. This relief consists in clothing, bed-clothing, food and fuel.

59-60.

For distribution of relief in kind, see Arts. 26, 27, 28, Internal Dispositions of the Bureaux.

61.

All bonds entitling the holder to any kind of relief must bear the stamp of the General Administration. Exceptions to this rule are made in favour of bonds issued on occasions of public rejoicing, and those which may bear the signature of an Administrator accompanied by the name of the holder.

62.

The Secretary-Treasurers remit every quarter to the Administration of the Assistance Publique as many food and clothing tickets as the Bureaux may think it expedient to issue for the service of the coming quarter. These tickets receive the stamp of the Administration.

63.

The tickets are only available during the course of the quarter for which they have been stamped.

64.

The stamped tickets are remitted to the Secretary-Treasurers in exchange for their receipt. They are then divided among the Administrators in such lots as may have been resolved upon by the Bureau.

65.

All tickets are directly tendered to the poor, at home, by the Administrators, Commissaires, or Lady-Visitors.

## 66.

The Bureaux determine in committee, on the report of the Divisional Administrators, the amount of pecuniary relief to be allotted to each pauper applicant.

## 67.

A reserve fund, however, may—with the special permission of the Prefet—be applied to relieve that class of poor termed *Pauvres honteux*, which is unwilling to apply for open relief.

## 68.

Pecuniary relief is distributed by means of personal tickets signed by the Administrators, or by the Mayors and Adjoints. The sums allotted are paid by the Secretary-Treasurers to the holders of the tickets in person. An exception to this last rule is made in the case of money allotted for the purchase of Confirmation clothing for the children of poor parents, when payment can be made into the hands of the Curé or of the Lady Superiors of the Relief Houses.

## 69.

For gratuitous furnishing of bandages, trusses, &c., see Art. 65, Para. 13, Internal Dispositions of the Bureaux.

## 70.

For particulars as to extraordinary relief accorded by Bureaux, *vide* Art. 65, *ibid*.

## 71.

The Bureau are authorized to lend poor persons in exceptional circumstances divers useful articles, as quilts, sheets, linen, &c. &c., taking at the same time all possible measures for their preservation.

## 72.

The Bureaux can, moreover, with the approval of the Administration, accord special relief for the payment of rents, premiums of apprentices, maintenance of widows and orphans, &c.

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## ADMISSION OF THE AGED AND INFIRM.

## 73-74.

For conditions of admission of aged and infirm, see Arts. 41, 42, 44, Internal Dispositions of the Bureaux.

## 75.

Admissions are accorded by the Director of the Administration on the presentation of the Bureaux.

## 76.

Each presentation is coupled with the certificate of birth for the aged; and with a certificate emanating from the Central Bureau for the infirm.

## 77.

Poor persons fulfilling all conditions are admitted to special relief from the age of sixty-nine.

## 78.

The amount of relief to be accorded to the aged of sixty-nine to seventy-five is fixed by the General Administration. A distribution of sums destined to afford this relief is made every three years among the different Bureaux, according to their several wants and populations.

## 79.

Poor persons entering in their seventy-fifth year, and those afflicted with blindness and paralysis, have a right to

the special relief of their class, if they fulfil the conditions laid down in Arts. 41, 42, 44, Internal Dispositions of the Bureaux.

## 80.

For allowances of each class of aged and infirm, see Arts. 42, 43, 44, Internal Dispositions of the Bureaux.

## 81.

For transition from one class to another, see Art. 42, *ibid.*

## 82.

The blind and paralytic who have reached the age of seventy or eighty may combine the special relief accorded to poor persons of that age with that awarded to their peculiar infirmity.

## 83.

This combination is forbidden in the case of blind persons in the enjoyment of a pension exceeding 200 francs from the Quinze Vingts.

## 84.

The aged and paralytic may receive, at the same time, special relief from the Bureaux and the pension from the Quinze Vingts, of whatever amount the pension may be.

## 85.

The Secretary-Treasurers keep a register for each category of paupers participating in special relief, in which these paupers are inscribed under a uniform system of numbers.

## 86.

Special relief is paid every month by the Secretary-Treasurers. Payment ceases on the death, disappearance,



entrance into a hospital, or change of arrondissement of the pauper.

87.

The aged of seventy-four years, the blind and paralytic who pass from one arrondissement into another, may claim the continuation of their allowance at the Bureau of their new residence.

88.

Paupers under the age of seventy-four can only receive their special allowances in the arrondissement in which they have been accorded.

89.

The Secretary-Treasurers are responsible for all payments unduly made after the month in which payment should have ceased.

90.

That which is due to a pauper at the time of his death or of his entrance into a hospital, may be employed by the divisional Administrator for the good of the pauper in the the hospital, or for that of his family, if deceased.

91.

When the sum allotted by the Administration has not been entirely employed, the excess is divided among the Bureaux de Bienfaisance, according to their several populations of aged paupers.

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#### PECUNIARY RELIEF IN PLACE OF HOSPITAL ADMISSIONS.

92.

For nature and aim of this relief, see Art. 39, Internal Dispositions of the Bureaux.

93.

For amount of allowances to men and women, see Art. 39, *ibid.*

94.

For sacrifices entailed by admission to this relief, see Art. 41, *ibid.*

95-96.

For conditions of admissibility and mode of fulfilling conditions, see Art. 40, *ibid.*

97.

For modifications consequent on entrance into hospital, departure from Paris, insanity, &c., see Art. 41, *ibid.*

98.

In cases where the pauper shall have lived with his family, see Art. 41, *ibid.*

99.

If the pauper remain in a hospital longer than three months, his claim to the relief is forfeited.

100.

Each Bureau, immediately on reception of its allotted presentations, resolves on a list of aged paupers fulfilling the requisite conditions, in number proportionate with the means at its command. This list is forwarded, with a report of the deliberation of the Bureau, to the Director of the Administration of the Assistance Publique, whose resolution thereupon is definite. In case of the rejection of any candidates, the Bureau replaces their names by others.

101.

In the last quarter of every year, officers of the Assistance

Publique visit all persons admitted to the *secours d'hospice*, in order to ascertain if their condition remains the same, and if they continue to fulfil the prescribed conditions. According to the result of this enquiry, relief is continued or withdrawn in the following year.

## 102.

Bad conduct or confirmed mendicity on the part of a pauper admitted to the relief entails the erasure of his name from the official lists.

## 103.

Vacancies occurring in the course of the year are immediately filled up.

## 104.

When the pauper is unable, from the aggravation of his infirmities, to remain with his family or in his home, he may be admitted into one of the Asylums for the Aged.

## 105.

If the husband and wife fulfil separately the prescribed conditions, they are entitled to separate relief, on proving to have been married ten years at least.

## 106.

Paupers admitted to the *secours d'hospice* who quit the arrondissement in which their admission was obtained, cease to be counted on the books of that arrondissement. Their places are filled up, and their names inscribed on the rolls of the new arrondissement.

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## TREATMENT OF THE SICK POOR AT HOME.

## 107.

For medical staff of Bureau, see Arts. 1, 6, Internal Dispositions of the Bureaux.

## 108.

Each arrondissement is provided with one or more dispensaries where gratuitous consultations are given by the official doctors at stated times and hours.

## 109.

The Doctors are required to attend the dispensaries regularly, and give consultations to all poor persons who shall require them.

## 110.

The Doctors visit poor patients at home, perform operations, and apply bandages, when circumstances preclude the fulfilment of this office by the Sisters of Charity.

## 111.

The Midwives attend on poor women in childbirth. They are required to call in the services of a doctor when the case presents certain difficulties.

## 112.

The Sisters of Charity visit and nurse the sick at home. They prepare and distribute the simple remedies prescribed by the Doctors.

## 113.

A register is kept at each Bureau of the applications for home medical treatment. The Divisional Doctor and Ad-

ministrator are immediately apprised of an inscription therein.

## 114.

The Register contains, moreover, the name, age, profession, and malady of the applicant, the date of his illness, and that of his cure.

## 115.

The sick poor are visited once a week at least by an officer of the Bureau, who frames a report of the state of each patient, and communicates it to the Medical Commission. The visiting officers are expressly forbidden to apprise the patients of the substance of their report.

## 116.

A Commission formed by the President, or one of the Vice-Presidents, an Administrator, a Doctor, a Commissaire, and the Secretary-Treasurer, assembles once a week to receive reports on all that which concerns the treatment of the sick poor. The Commission decides what relief to accord in each case. Demands for extraordinary relief, &c. are submitted to the Commission. These demands are transmitted to the Bureau, with the result of the deliberations of the Commission. The special relief accorded by the Commission is granted only with a view to facilitate the cure of the patients, or to repair the ills caused by sickness.

## 117.

The Commission divides the sick poor into two categories, viz. those chronically affected, and those incidentally ailing. In the former case, the visits prescribed by Art. 115 may be made monthly. The Commission decides the erasure of the patient's name from the Official Register, on convales-

cence, or for any other cause indicated by the Visiting Officer's report.

## 118.

Treatment of the sick may be commenced, if the case be urgent, on the demand of the sick person, or on the order of the Mayor, Administrators, or Assistance Publique.

## 119.

The Commission advises the temporary inscription of patients on the Poor List of the Bureau should their affection seem likely to last long, or when stress of circumstances seems to require relief.

## 120.

The Commission accounts to the Bureau, at the end of every quarter, for all it has effected, and proposes the amount necessary to cover the expenditure of the coming quarter. This amount will be derived from the sums allotted by the Assistance Publique, or from the particular resources of the Bureau. It must cover the expenses for all branches of the medical service.

## 121.

The orders for food, medicines, &c. accorded by the Commission are immediately forwarded to the Divisional Administrators, who transmit them forthwith to the poor patients. In a case of urgency, during the interval of the sessions, these orders can be given by the President, who reports the donation on the next assembly of the Commission.

## 122.

The Bureaux are entitled to send to the Imperial Asylums.

of Vincennes and Vesinet poor convalescents, in receipt of legal assistance, from the city of Paris.

## 123.

These convalescents are received at the Asylums on presentation of a letter from the President of the Bureau to the Director of the Establishment, stating their names, age, profession, and residence. They must, moreover, be provided with a medical certificate indicating their malady.

## 124.

The Secretary-Treasurers remit a monthly report to the Assistance Publique of the number of convalescents sent to the Imperial Asylums during the past month.

## 125.

An annual account is rendered by the Bureaux of the employment of the sums allotted them, of the number of poor patients attended and relieved, and of the general results obtained.

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FOUNDATION MONTYON.

## 126.

For details as to the aim and working of this private charity, see Arts. 47, 48, 49, 50, Internal Dispositions of the Bureaux.

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EXPENSES.

## 139.

The medicines in use at the Relief Houses are delivered at the Central Medical Warehouse.

## 140.

Other provisions, such as bedding, clothing, &c., are distributed as the Administration of the Assistance Publique may deem expedient. The Bureaux are called upon to make an annual statement of the provisions necessary for the service of the coming year.

## 141.

The Bureaux are informed as to the nature and amount of the provisions allotted to their use. These allotted provisions are warehoused, and the several Bureaux draw thence their supplies as they may require them.

## 142.

The Manager of the Warehouse delivers provisions on the Secretary-Treasurer's order, and a receipt is exacted for them.

## 143.

The Bureaux can treat privately for the purchase of meat and other articles not furnished by the Administration. For this, an authorization of the Administration is required. The purchase of unimportant articles requires no authorization. But the expense of these articles must not exceed 400 francs in a year.

## 144.

No purchase of furniture, ground, building, &c. can be made by the Bureau without the special approbation of the Administration.

## 145.

An exception to this rule is made in cases where sums disbursed for the maintenance and preservation of property do not exceed 300 francs per quarter.

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## RECEIPTS.

146.

The resources of the Bureaux de Bienfaisance are derived from :—

1. Sums awarded by the Administration of the Assistance Publique ;
2. Private donations and legacies ;
3. Internal revenue of the arrondissement.

147.

The funds accorded by the Assistance Publique for the Home Relief of the Parisian Poor are divided annually by the Prefect of the Seine among the several Bureaux, according to the size of their pauper populations, and following the counsel of the Delegate Administrators and that of the Director of the Assistance Publique.

148.

All legacies and donations made to the poor, with or without a special destination, are received by the Administration of the Assistance Publique, and handed over to the Bureaux charged with their employment.

149.

The Administrators are instructed to fulfil to the letter the special intentions of the donors.

150.

The Bureaux are authorized to increase their resources by all means within their power—by balls, collections, subscriptions, &c. &c. These schemes must obtain the sanction of the Director of the Assistance Publique, who, in concert with

the Presidents of Bureaux, will endeavour to assure their efficacy.

## 151.

The Committees charged with the superintendence of Charity Balls, Concerts, &c. are required to render account of the net receipts and expenses to the Bureau.

## 152.

The Bureaux may, in concert with the Ecclesiastical Authorities, organize collections in the different churches of the metropolis.

## 153.

Poor-boxes may be placed in churches of the arrondissement, as also in all other public buildings.

## 154.

The poor-boxes are locked with duplicate keys, one of which is entrusted to the Secretary-Treasurer, the other to the Mayor. The boxes are opened at least twice a year by the Secretary-Treasurer, in presence of the Manager.

## 155.

All moneys received by the Mayors, Adjoints, Administrators, or Commissaires, to be employed by them in charity, must be paid in entirety to the Treasury of the Bureaux, to be subsequently employed as the donors may have directed.

---

EXECUTION OF THE REGULATIONS.

## 156.

The Inspectors of the Administration are required to enforce the strict execution of the official regulations. The

Secretary-Treasurers are ordered to submit the accounts of the Bureaux, and all necessary documents, to the Inspectors of the Administration.

## 157.

The internal regulations framed by the Bureaux for their special arrondissements cannot be put into force without having received the sanction of the Director of the Assistance Publique, and, on occasion, that of the Prefect of the Seine.

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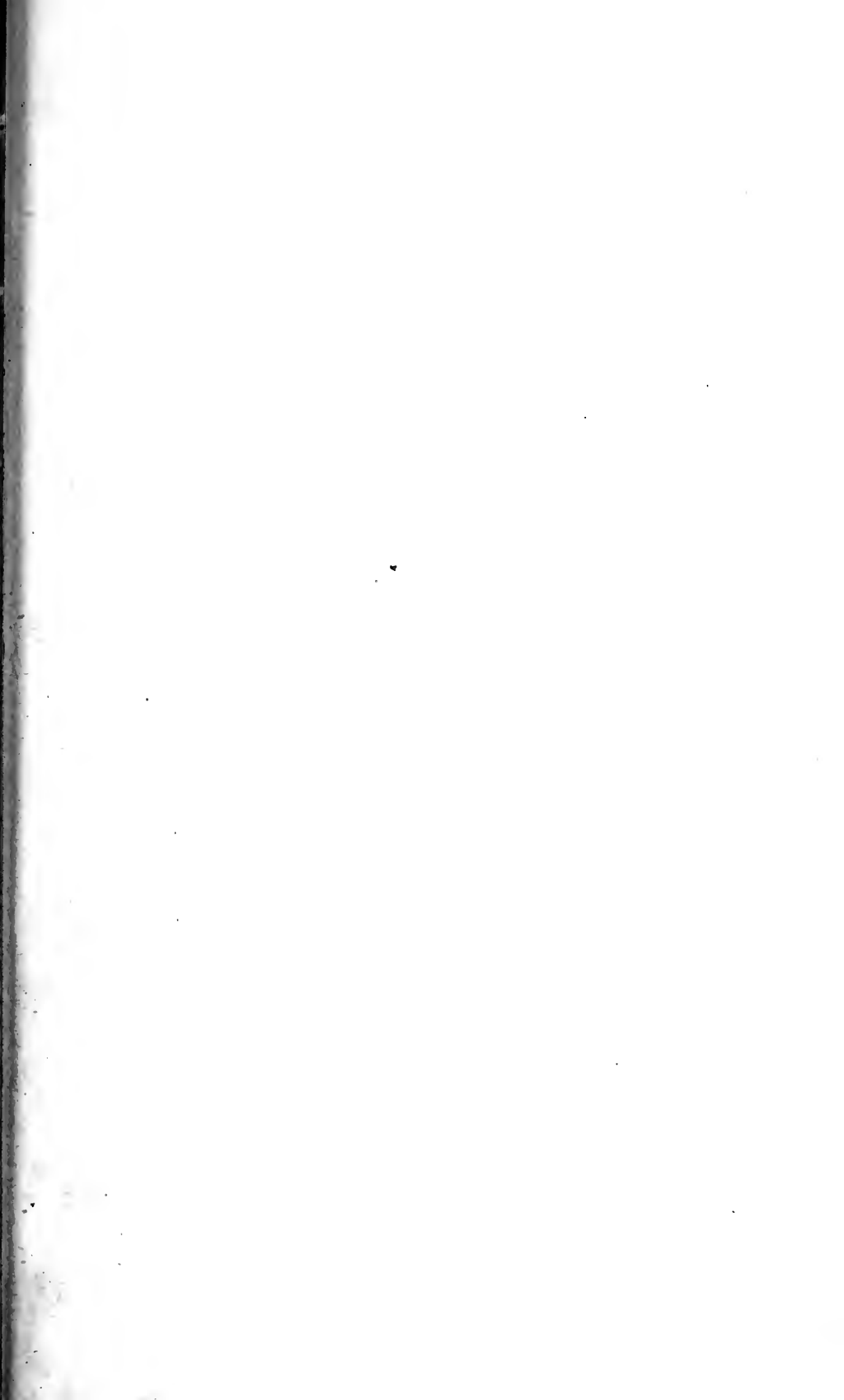
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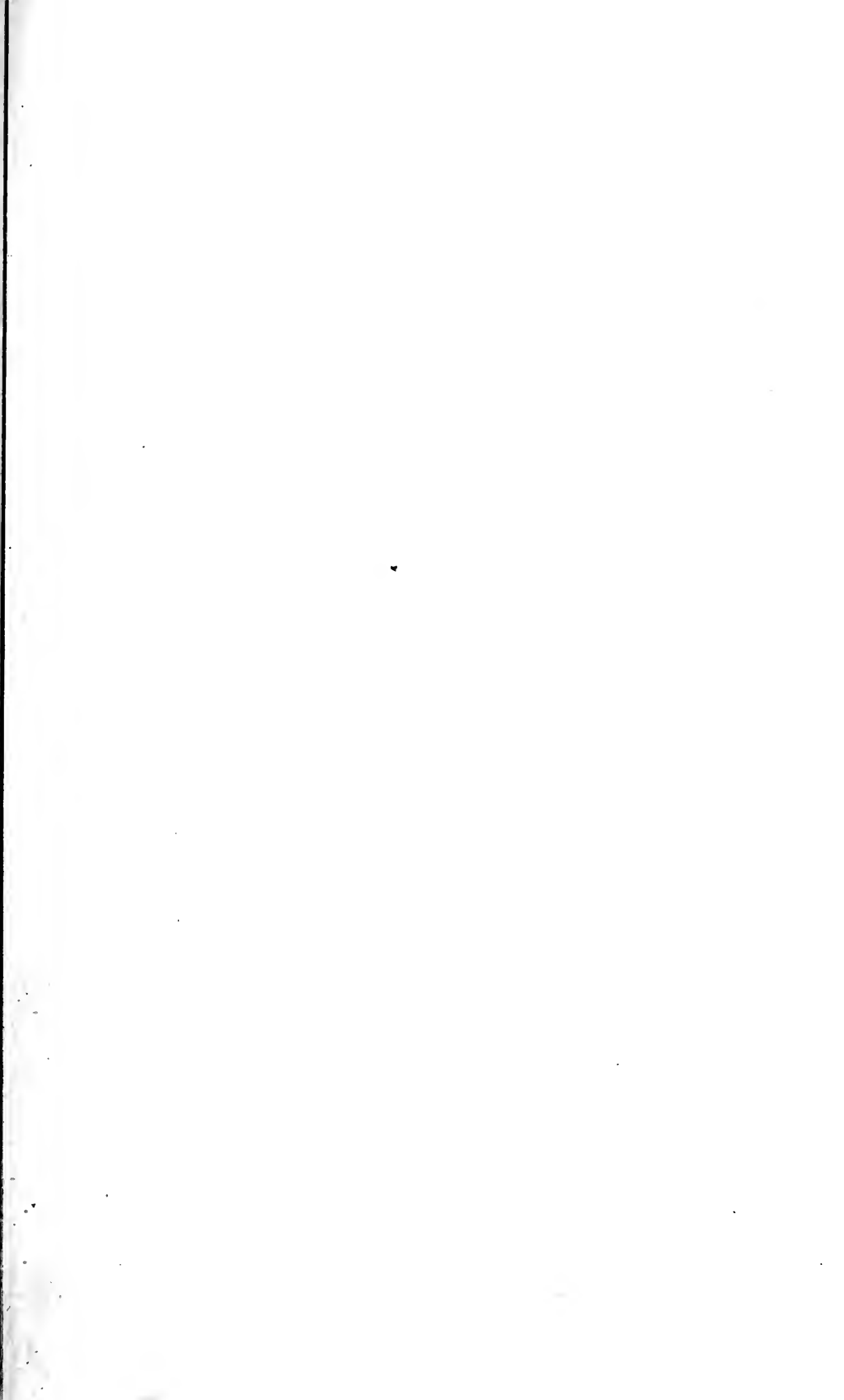
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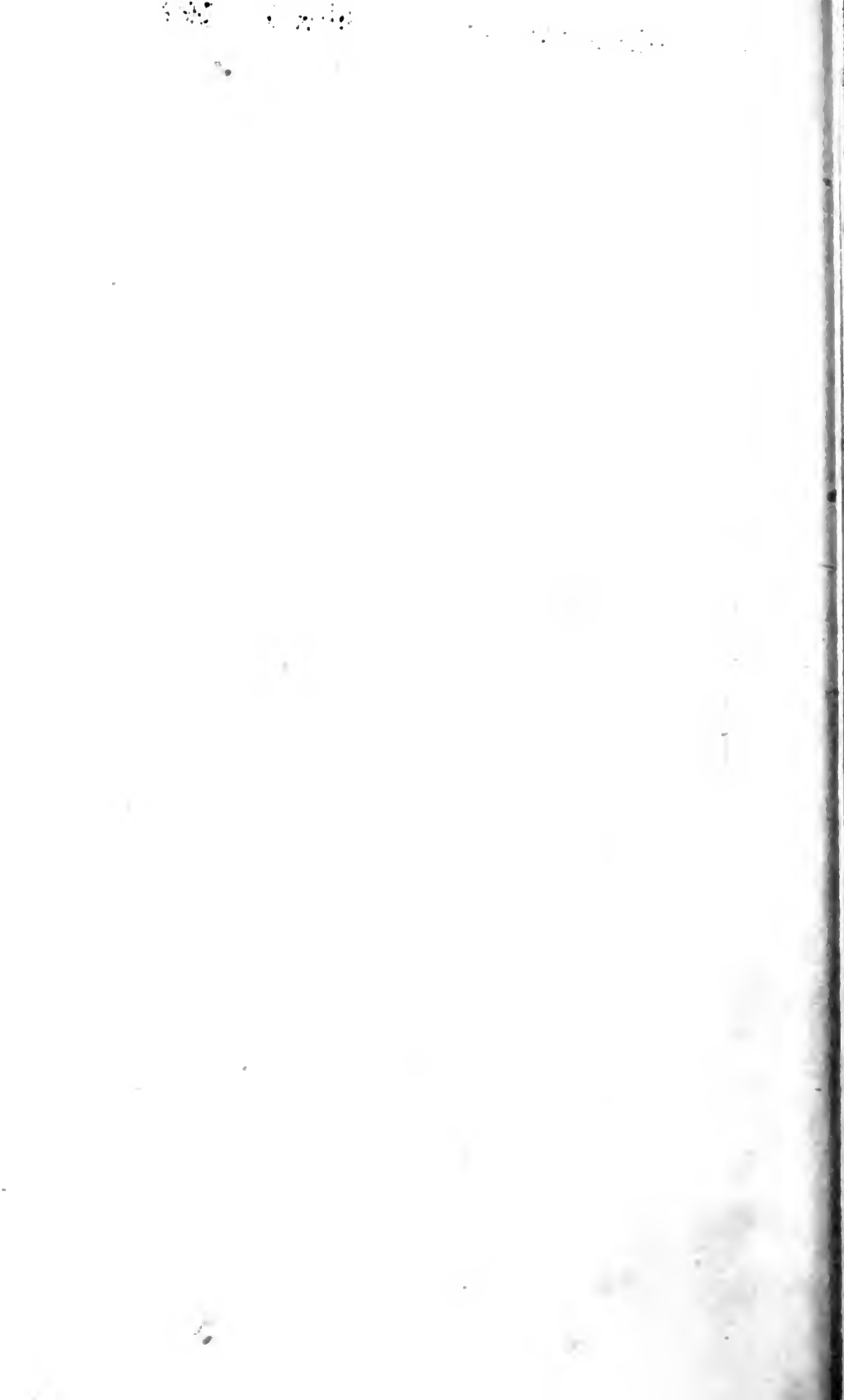
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